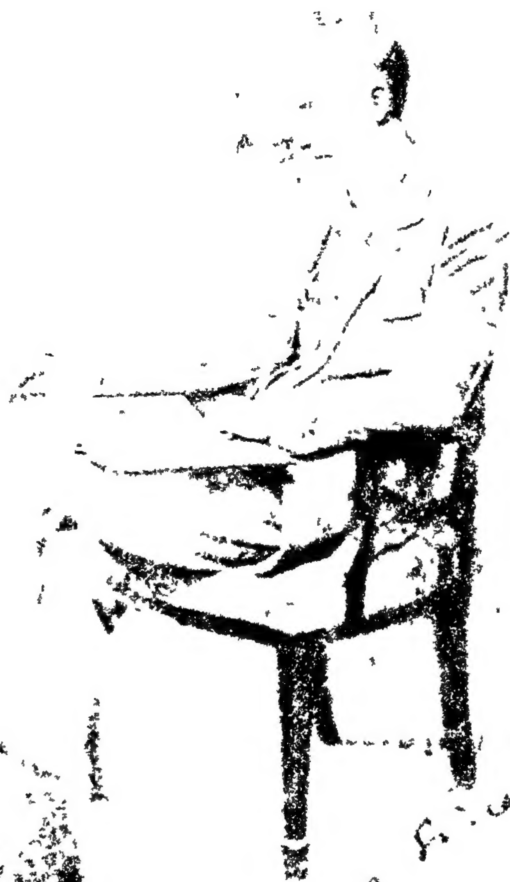


"A FRIEND OF INDIA."

SELECTIONS FROM THE SPEECHES

AND WRITINGS

OF

B. G. HORNIMAN.

1918.

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DEDICATED

(*WITHOUT PERMISSION*)

TO

The Indian Bureaucracy.

Forewords

I

MR. B. G. HORNIMAN, the author of the articles which are published in the present volume, is one of those all-too-few Englishmen who carry their British principles with them when they come to India and who keep them in the open air during the years of their stay in this land. The commonplaces of liberty of speech, liberty of the press, liberty of person unless deprived of it by the law—these, which in England are taken for granted as the inalienable Rights of the good citizen, are matters of grace in India, are held at the mercy of autocrats, little and big, white and brown, from the "Lat Saheb" enthroned in Simla, who issues *lettres de cachet*, down to the constable who takes toll of the coolie's basket and cuffs him if he complains. But to Mr. Horniman these Rights are still Rights, and their effacement is a matter of constant pain. He feels, as though inflicted on his own person, the wrongs suffered by the Indian, and with passionate insistence seeks to arouse in the injured the courage to assert their God-given manhood.

His paper, *the Bombay Chronicle*, in which many of the following articles appeared, has been warned, and threatened with divers penalties from time to time, but it has not swerved from the path of patriotic duty.

For such Englishmen there is always a place in the Indian hearts And among those who have struggled for Indian freedom, the name of B. G Horniman will ever shine. For this reason I am proud to have been asked to introduce this book to the public. Whether I agree with all it contains, I neither know nor care, for the value of a book depends on the sincerity, the knowledge, the equipment of the writer, and of the presence of these in our author I am sure.

ANNIE BESANT.

IT is alike a pleasure and a privilege to be associated with any tribute to the work of this single-minded Englishman who has rendered such signal and chivalrous service to the cause of Indian Nationalism.

Unfaltering in his devotion to Indian aspirations, tireless and dauntless in his championship of Indian rights and interests, it is essentially true to say of Benjamin Guy Horniman that in all the public and personal relations and responsibilities of his life, he has proved himself to be the embodiment of just those characteristics and qualities which are so proudly and insistently claimed as the typical virtues of English manhood: an intrepid sincerity and integrity of purpose, indomitable courage, and candour of speech and action, an instinctive and passionate love of justice and abiding and implacable love of liberty.

To these virile and splendid gifts of his race, he adds a clear and far-reaching comprehension and mastery of political situations and issues. Moreover, his are also the gracious and fruitful gifts, so rare is their combination, of imagination, humour and tenderness which mellow, enrich and transfigure a personality, of singular charm, strength and dignity, which realizes in all its implications and ideals the immemorial duty of *Noblesse Oblige.*

SAROJINI NAIDU.

Bombay, 22nd August, 1918.

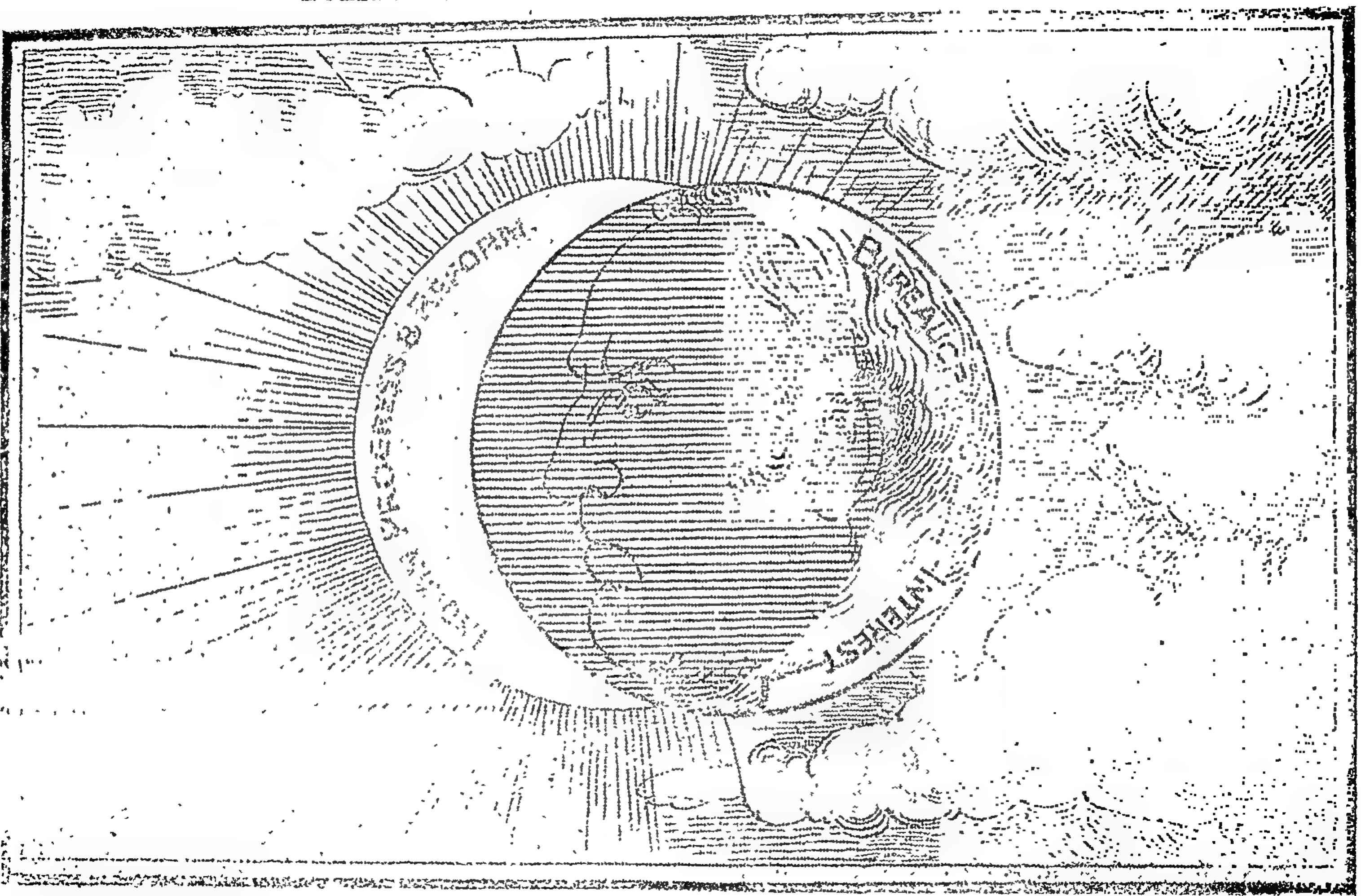
The temperament of B. G. Horniman is compounded of an unrelenting doggedness that is English with an emotional intensity and faculty of righteous wrath against all that is unrighteous which is essentially Celtic. His soul revolts against the phenomena of oppression and injustice wherever and in whatever shape they may be found. Be it a case of cruelty to animals, or bullying of the weak, or the sordid exploitation of a helpless nation,—it is all anathema to him. Such a nature could not be other than chivalrous in its allegiance, whether to a friend or a cause. It is a type in which refined spirituality and inexorable iconoclasm are evenly blended.

One last word about B. G. Horniman as an Indian Nationalist. As one who has had intimate opportunities of watching the working of his mind, it is a pleasure to me to be able to record that never once have I known his faith to be dimmed in the ultimate triumph of the cause of Indian Nationalism,—a cause to which he has dedicated a life of rare and rich endowment. Buried as he has been in the thick of the fight, I can recall no single occasion when his resolution has flinched or his courage faltered before the ordeal of heavy odds or adverse fortune. Where it is a question of India's good his instincts are unerring: whoever else may fail or fall B. G. Horniman may be counted upon to remain staunch to the end in his single-minded and incorruptible devotion to the cause of Indian Freedom.

SYUD HOSSAIN.

"The Eclipse."

ECLIPSE VISIBLE ON THE INDIAN POLITICAL SKY.



"INDIA PRAYS FOR LIGHT, THE LIGHT OF EQUALITY, THE LIGHT THAT LIGHTETH."

Liberty.

I.

Courage! my brother or my sister!
Keep on! Liberty is to be subserved, whatever occurs;
That is nothing that is quelled by one or two failures,
    or any number of failures,
Or by the indifference or ingratitude of the people, or by any
    unfaithfulness,
Or the show of the tushes of power, soldiers, cannon, penal
    statutes.

II.

What we believe in waits latent for ever through all the
    continents, and all the islands and archipelagoes of the sea.
What we believe in invites no one, promises nothing, sits in
    calmness and light, is positive and composed, knows no
    discouragement,
Waiting patiently, waiting its time.

III.

The battle rages with many a loud alarm, and frequent advance
    and retreat,
The infidel triumphs or supposes he triumphs.
The prison, scaffold, garrote, handcuffs, iron necklace and anklet,
    lead-balls do their work,
The named and unnamed heroes pass to other spheres,
The great speakers and writers are exiled—they lie sick in
    distant lands,
The cause is asleep—the strongest throats are still, choked with
    their own blood,
The young men drop their eyelashes toward the ground when
    they meet;

But, for all this liberty has not gone out of the place, nor the
infidel entered into possession.

When liberty goes out of a place, it is not the first to go, nor
the second or third to go,
It waits for all the rest to go—it is the last.

When there are no more memories of heroes and martyrs,
And when all life and all the souls of men and women are
discharged from any part of the earth,
Then only shall liberty be discharged from that part of the
earth
And the infidel and the tyrant come into possession.

—Walt Whitman.

APOLOGY.

NO apology is needed for publishing selections from the writings and speeches of Mr. B. G. Horniman. That this was not done so before is to be regretted, but I am glad as this gives me an opportunity of publishing them, and thus of paying him my tribute of admiration. He loves India with a warm heart, and hence his sincere championship of Indian aspirations. It has often struck me seeing him get up to address an audience, with the usual roll of papers in his hands, that they are the title-deeds of India's right to equal treatment as any other nation on the face of the earth. Inequality of treatment flares him up, because he believes in one weight and and one measure for all, and hence injustice plays the part with him that the lighted torch plays to the faggot, and his soul is ablaze at once. He has in a large measure that gift of imagination which enables him to get at the hearts of Indians, and thus realise their feelings, and having realised them, he expresses them with charm, wit, delicacy, and exquisite lightness of touch, with that fine taste in satire, humour, variety, epigram and gaiety, with that ever present undercurrent of biting meaning, which strongly remind one of Swift and Voltaire. This has deservedly made him the voice of United India, and if I may be permitted to say, one of her megaphones.

Nor is any apology needed for dedicating this volume to the Bureaucracy,—that ponderous curtain that hangs between the King-Emperor and his subjects, and is the cause of the "grahan" (eclipse) visible on the Indian political sky. It darkens the free life of the Indian nation, politically, economically and socially, and as it is made of vested class interest, it makes 'darkness visible'.

and is one of the causes of Indian uneasiness, whatever Sir Valentine Chirol and others of his kidney may say to the contrary.

But India is more uneasy and restless as she finds that promises, made in 1858 and 1908 by Royal Proclamations, of equal treatment, irrespective of caste and creed, have been made to the ear and broken to the heart. That it is so can admit of no doubt, as in 1912 a Royal Commission was appointed to examine and report on various matters of which the most important was about "such *limitations as still exist* in the employment of non-Europeans" in public services. That was in 1912: The promise was made in 1858. No mathematician, neither Archimedes nor Leibnitz nor Laplace has measured the distance between Zero and figure 1. None of us need be mathematicians to know the distance between hopes created in us in 1858 and the disappointments in which we find ourselves by those promises not having been fulfilled. The late Lord Salisbury described the solemn promises and their punctillious non-fulfilment as "political hypocrisy". This has sullied the honor of "the pledged word" freely given by the British Sovereign, and accepted by the British Parliament and the British People, and it is for the British Nation to redeem the same to ease her political conscience.

It was, I believe, Professor (now Lord) Bryce who said that the 'color sense' of the Anglo-Saxon is one of his strongest senses, and when that sense is fortified by class interest, no wonder that India is in ferment. Thus the Indian Problem—on which I do not propose to enlarge here—is, to my mind a problem of psychology, of England's mentality towards India and *vice versa*, or better still, a case for chromopathy. Change of angle of vision, as it does not change the medium, will not avail, neither will any scheme of responsible government diluted with "ifs" and "buts" avail. These are but palliatives, and palliatives are not remedies. The remedy is to raise the curtain, to let in light, "the light of equality, the light that lighteth."

And what does India want, and what is her Ideal? Her Ideal,—spiritual, political and economical,—with apologies to Tennyson and Pope, is

> Self-Taxation, Self-Legislation and Self-Administration:
> These three alone lead nations to Self-Realisation,
> These three make national life: want of these, death;
> The rest is all but leather and prunello.

Indians want Home-Rule, so that they may be "at-home", and not exiles, paradoxical as it may sound, in their native land, and cease to be chattels abroad. India wants, to quote Mrs. Annie Besant, "everything that any other Nation may claim for itself. To be free in India, as the Englishman is free in England. To be governed by her own men, freely elected by herself. To make and break Ministries at her will. To carry arms; to have her own army, her own navy, her own volunteers. To levy her own taxes; to make her own budgets; to educate her own people; to irrigate her own lands; to mine her own ores; to mint her own coin; to be a Sovereign Nation within her own borders, owning the power of the Imperial Crown and sending her sons to the Imperial Council. There is nothing to which any man can aspire in his own land from which the Indian must be shut out here. Thus England and India are to stand hand-in-hand. Yes, that is her hope. But, that it may be so, Justice must replace Inequality; for India can never be at rest, till she is free".

This is India's Ideal, and I have no fear of its not being realised. I believe with Edward Carpenter:

"When a new desire has declared itself within the human heart, when a fresh plexus is forming amongst the nerves—then the revolutions of nations are already decided and histories unwritten are written.

When *Yes* has once been pronounced in that region then the *No* of millions is nothing at all; then fire, the stake, death, ridicule, and bitter extermination are of no avail whatever.

"When the Ideal has once alighted, when it has looked forth from the windows with ever so passing a glance, upon the Earth then we may go in to supper, You and I, and take our ease—the rest will be seen to."

I have faith in the British Democracy, I have faith in India, I have faith in God; and if Truth, Justice and Faith will avail, India will be Free, and great in the future, as she was in the past. *Vande Mataram.*

Lakhmidas Rowjee Tairsee.

Bombay, 20th August, 1918.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.

THE inception of the present volume is due to my friend Mr. Lakhmidas Rowji Tairsee. It does not pretend to be complete. To bring under one cover all the writings and speeches of Mr. Horniman, even during his Editorship of "The Bombay Chronicle" was a literary impossibility, for divers reasons, not the least among which was the extremely limited time at our disposal. The work had to be done in haste, our object being to place it in the hands of the public before the sitting of the Special Session of the Indian National Congress, which will be meeting in this historic city within the next few days. Every endeavour has been made to make the collection valuable, and though, owing to the limited space and time, we had to exclude much that was important, we have tried our best to include several of the speeches and writings, which have a special bearing on the present political situation in India. For the same reason, it has not been possible to maintain the chronological order of the writings, and in some places, notably in dealing with the articles on the Press Act, the Curtis propaganda—which he fearlessly exposed at the very outset—and the Mesopotamia Blunders, we have deemed it advisable to place the several articles dealing with each group, as far as possible together.

Mr. Horniman does not need to be introduced to the public, especially the public all over India, to whom he has endeared himself by a constancy of ungrudging service and unselfish devotion. He is, as Mrs. Besant has said in her excellent "FOREWORD", one of those 'all too few' Englishmen, who have succeeded, wherever they may be, in retaining their British Traditions and British Ideals, and who have stoutly opposed the extension of militant Imperialism on the part of their fellow-countrymen. Not only so, Mr. Horniman has

made his own the great cause for which we have all been fighting and has earned for himself a high niche in the short but illustrious roll of Englishmen and English women, who have consistently championed the cause of India's Freedom, and by their unselfish services, have very materially contributed to bring India nearer to the great political consummation—an India, United, Free, and Self-Governing. Mr. Horniman has an immense faith in the great future of this country, as all his writings and speeches fully reveal, and with a consciousness born of that faith, he has unfalteringly preached, and helped to spread, the Gospel of Liberty and Freedom. It is our fervent hope that the self-same faith and unfaltering courage may inspire all those who peruse the book, and lead to a quicker emancipation of India from the Thraldom which time and environment have wrought upon her in the past.

We are fully conscious of the shortcomings of our effort. But we hope and trust that the indulgent public will look to the matter and spirit of the book rather than to forms, and accept it as a humble token of appreciation of the great services which Mr. Horniman has rendered this country during the most critical period of her history.

Our thanks are due to all who have in whatsoever measure co-operated in bringing out this volume. We feel our thanks are due in a special degree to Mr. Horniman himself, for generously permitting us to use the material; to Mrs. Besant who in the midst of heavy political preoccupations, acceded to our request by giving the "FOREWORD" which serves to introduce the book; to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu for her characteristically beautiful appreciation; and to Mr. Syud Hossain for kindly allowing us to incorporate his article entitled "Mr. Curtis and his Mission," so as to maintain the continuity of the series on Mr. Curtis's Propaganda, which appeared in "The Bombay Chronicle" and for his own "Tribute."

VENKAT RAM.

Bombay, 20th August, 1918.

CONTENTS

THE REFORM SCHEME.

The following article which appeared under the appropriate heading of "Unacceptable" on the morning of the publication of the Montagu—Chelmsford Proposals has been widely appreciated as striking a true note in regard to the proposed reforms. It is believed that Mr. Horniman had the root of the matter in him when he came out, with unrelenting impartiality, with the article in question. There is considerable evidence to show that the position taken up by Mr. Horniman was the only one which every honest and self-respecting Indian could take up in regard to proposals, which lack that breadth of vision and far-sighted statesmanship which characterized the action of the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in South Africa, after the Boer War, in 1905. Even the so called "Moderates" have freely opined that "the heart is sound but the hand is weak." Mrs. Besant, President of the Indian National Congress has said that "the proposals are unworthy of England to offer and of India to accept." Mr. Tilak told a press representative that "the Report is excellent but the Scheme is worthless."

WHEN the announcement made by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons of August 20th, 1917, was published in this country, we said in these columns, in effect that the value of the pronouncement of British policy in India which it contained depended upon the generosity or otherwise of the interpretation that would placed upon it in practice. We recognised the limitations of its phraseo-logy and we think it was generally recognised throughout the country that its terms, if subjected to close and analytical scrutiny, failed to reach the level of the immediate demand which the country then felt and still feels entitled, and, indeed, bound to make upon the Parliament and people of Great Britain. But it was the spirit of the announcement to which people in India turned, at a time of almost unbearable str- and seeking for the spirit of conciliation. beneath the actual wor- what was in fact a cautious undertaking, they accepted the announce-ment as involving an honest desire to satisfy the aspiration of the of India for that right of self-determination to which they are

edly as fully entitled as the people of any other country. We were thus prepared to and did overlook the somewhat ominous phrases which spoke of the "gradual development of self-governing institutions" and the "progressive realisation of responsible government;" and on the admission that the time had come to take "substantial steps" in this direction was the hope based that Mr. Montagu's mission to this country would result in his realisation that any scheme of reforms which was to satisfy the claims of India must at least not fall below, in principle, the standard of the scheme jointly agreed upon by the Indian National Congress and the All India Moslem League. It was on this hope, let us repeat, that the bulk of Indian public opinion rested, when it accepted the announcement of August 20th last as a promise of real and genuine reform and settled down to thresh out with the Secretary of State and the Viceroy the details of the problem to be solved.

Mr. Montagu has come and gone, and, to-day the public is in possession of the lengthy report drawn up by him and Lord Chelmsford in which they discuss exhaustively the situation and the conditions to be dealt with and outline their proposals for reform. The result, we must say at the outset, is profoundly disappointing to those who have looked for the presentation of a scheme of popular government that, in the words, only recently written by the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Shastri, would "insist on the people's representatives being empowered to call the executive to account and controlling the financial dispositions" and who realise that any so-called reforms which fail fully to provide for these two essentials will equally fail to satisfy Indian aspirations; will fail also, it is well to remember, to satisfy the principle of self-determination: and must prove unacceptable to the country as a whole. We are not concerned for any meticulous adhesion to the Congress-League scheme. But that scheme embodies certain fundamental principles, as we have repeatedly pointed out, which in the unanimous view of the educated community in this country are essential to the minimum for any practical realisation of the goal of responsible government; and, what is of equal importance, it represents the reconciliation by deliberative agreement of all the conflicting interests that must necessarily exist in a country like India. So far, however, as the fundamental principles were realised and acted upon, the public might have been satisfied with the methods by which it was proposed to put

them into practice. But Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have not merely condemned the Congress-League scheme in detail. They have turned aside from and rejected its principles and offer in its place a scheme which is lacking in those fundamentals essential to the definite transfer of control to the hands of the representatives of the people. Their proposals are based on the fullest recognition of the present unfitness, as alleged, of the people of this country for self-government. And on this assumption, and in order to evade the conferment on the people of India of the full right of self-determination they resort to a series of fantastic devices, surely unparalleled in their artificiality and unworkability in any constitution that has ever been devised or thought of in the world's history. So far as the Government of India is concerned, there is to be no pretence of popular control of either "reserved" or "transferred" subjects, to use the precious phraesology that has been invented for the fantastic constitution for the provinces. There is to be only an extensive elaboration of the present ineffective means of public criticism and discussion. The Legislative Assembly will be almost wholly elective but it will contain elements capable of infinite mischief in the direction of thwarting the popular will. Above it is to be erected a Second Chamber or Senate, to be elected from a carefully arranged constituency of conservative elements, with complete powers of revision. And beyond this there is to be a machinery for the settlement of disputes between the two and a power of veto in the hands of the Governor-General, which satisfies to the fullest extent for which imagination can provide, the admitted aim of the authors is to see that the supreme will of the Government of India, which means in fact the present bureaucratic hierarchy, remains unimpaired in all essential matters.

We cannot conceive how Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford could have supposed that a scheme which enhances rather than modifies the power of the bureaucracy in the Government of India, and makes no pretence to transfer the control in any respect to the popular representatives, would satisfy the Indian demand. Presumably, they have proceeded on the assumption that the concession of a measure of provincial autonomy would be sufficiently dazzling to obscure the triviality of change in the legislative machinery attached to the Government of India. But when we turn to the scheme of the provinces we find that the proposals are based on the same distrust of Indian fitness for control.

Every argument that has been applied by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford to exhibit, in their view, the unworkability of the Congress-League scheme, applies with far greater force, it seems to us, to their own proposals for a form of dualism in Government, which can only be given the semblance of feasibility by a series of devices which spell deadlocks and friction at every turn. Most of the things that matter are to be "reserved" to the Governor-in-Council and placed outside the control of the elected legislature. The subjects that the people of a province may have to play with, subjects that will be transferred to a department or departments controlled by a Minister or Ministers chosen from the elected members of the legislature, are to be left to the decision of a committee, arbitrarily chosen. What they may prove to be, nobody knows. But that it is not contemplated that they will be extensive or varied is indicated by the assumption that only one "Minister" may be necessary to deal with them. Thus presumably the Legislature may have a limited control over Education, Sanitation and Roads, but Police, Law and Justice, Revenue collection, etc., which so vitally affect the lives of the people will certainly be "reserved." Even in the "transferred" subjects, however, an arbitrary Governor, or a weak Governor under the tutelage of officials—a type we know too well,—is to have elaborate powers of veto and revision reserved to him. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford hope "that the Ministers will avail themselves of the Governor's trained advice," and that he, on his part, "will be willing to meet their wishes to the furthest possible extent." But they "reserve to him a power of control because they regard him as generally responsible for his administration" and they do not think that "he should accept without hesitation and discussion proposals which are clearly seen to be the result of inexperience." We can well see what all this would mean with the Pentlands and the Willingdons and the officials always at their side.

Thus we find that this instalment of provincial autonomy merely amounts to this: A reformed Legislative Council almost wholly elected, but containing official and nominated elements, capable, especially in times of crisis, of turning the scale against popular opinion. From the control of this Legislature the chief elements of executive government are to be excluded. Within their control are to be certain subjects to be selected by a committee chosen by Government, but

such control is to be subject to elaborate checks and vetoes, which may, and in practice would, produce constant deadlocks and thwarting of popular opinion as represented by the elected members of the Council. There is here no definite transfer of control to the popular representative from the hands of permanent officials; indeed, it seems to us, for reasons we shall go into on a future occasion, when we examine the scheme in detail, that the power of the bureaucracy is likely to be strengthened in many dangerous respects. We cannot offer an iota of support to such a scheme. The best we can say of it is, that it may, after its worst defects have been shorn from it, form a basis, at least, as regards the provision for almost wholly elected legislatures, on which a scheme of real responsibility to and control by those legislatures may be rebuilt. The worst we can say is this: That it does not take one jot or tittle of real power from the bureaucracy. It will not give the people one ounce of control over the abuses of administration and official tyrannies under which they now groan. O'Dwyerism, Haileyism, Prattism may continue to flourish and flaunt themselves in the face of the people for the next fifty years for all the difference this scheme of reforms can make. The horror of the Bengal internments will remain as far removed as ever from the power of public disapproval to cure it. Free speech, free movement, freedom of public writings and all the elementary rights of civilised citizenship may be made a mockery of by an executive armed with the powers of Defence Acts, Press Acts and antiquated Ordinances. But the power of the people, whose liberties are thus trampled upon, will be confined to the control, on sufferance of a Governor, of ministers of education and sanitation! That is not what the people of this country have demanded. It is not what can satisfy them.

LORD WILLINGDON'S BLUNDER

The Bombay Provincial War Conference was held on July 10, 1918, at the Town Hall, H. E. Lord Willingdon presiding. The gathering was noteworthy for the presence among others of the "Home Rule" leaders including Lokmanya Tilak and Messrs. N. C. Kelkar, Jamnadas Dwarkadas and B. G. Horniman. But it was apparent from what followed at the Conference, that the Government had extended the "honor"

of an invitation to our respected leaders in order deliberately to insult them, by questioning their loyalty and sincerity. When Lok. Tilak and Mr. Kelkar tried to address the meeting in accordance with a promise that had been made to them previously of free and open discussion, they were both "ruled out" by the President on the ground that it was not permissible to introduce controversial politics into a "Loyalty" Resolution. The Resolution itsels was not merely a "Loyalty" resolution and besides, the previous speakers including a few Ruling Chiefs had talkud "politics" which were of a seriously objectionable character, though soothing to the official conscience. The result was that the Home Rule leaders headed by Mr. Tilak walked out of the Hall as a protest against the insulting and highly provocative treatment to which they were subjected.

LORD Willingdon described the assemblage of persons in the Town Hall, last evening, called together for what was erroneously called a "War Conference," as "perhaps the most representative gathering from all parts of this Presidency that has ever assembled in the Town Hall of our Capital City." How far that description is accurate we are not concerned to discuss. In some sense it may be true, but "representative" is a comparative term to which an exact interpretation cannot be applied. We are not sure whether the assembly was representative of every class and section of the community. But we are quite certain that it was overweighted by those who represent but very limited interests, persons whose influence with the public, the people, is of the slightest, while those whom the people of the Presidency really regard as leaders were present in very small numbers. That was the distinguishing feature of this "Conference," as it is of nearly all assemblies of the kind organised by officials in this coutry. So much for the composition of the "Conference." As a matter of fact, however, it was not a Conference at all in the proper sense of the term. A Conference means a gathering at which people confer. The "War Conference" of the Bombay Government was nothing of the kind. The members were invited merely to accord their approval to resolutions drafted, not by committees appointed by themselves, but a few officials; to a cut-and-dried scheme prepared, not as a result of any Conference on their part, but by the same officials acting without consultation with anybody of real importance, and to executive bodies already constituted by the same officials and in regard to which they had not the power,

by the rules of procedure arbitrarily laid down, to delete or add a single name in any one instance. The Government invite public co-operation. Is this the means of securing it? Who have chosen the members of all these various boards who are to exercise the most widely varied powers in order to exploit the resources of the Presidency? A representative popular Conference? No, the oligarchy of officials cosisting of Mr. Carmichael, Sir James du Boulay. Mr. Cadell and Mr. Robertson. Do they know or want to know, or, at any rate, want the co-operation of the men who are really in sympathy with the people, the men who could touch the people, the men who could rouse popular enthusiasm for the objects in view? There is every reason to doubt it, without even taking the trouble to examine the lists of names composing the various bodies they have constituted. They consist, with, perhaps, a few exceptions, of men who are entirely out of touch with popular sentiment and whose only qualification for the roles thrust upon them is that they are in touch with officialdom. To call people together for the purpose of approving cut and dried official measures, in the preparation of which they have had no part or lot and which they are expressly precluded by arbitrary rules of procedure from altering by a single jot or tittle, to call it a "Conference" and to talk of popular co-operation will appear, to the minds of most straightforward people, mere humbug. All that the official sponsors of yesterday's "Conference" desired was to obtain an appearance of popular approval for the arrangements made by themselves. But the day has gone by, we hope and believe, when the public of the Presidency, or anyone else, was to be taken in by this sort of thing.

Whatever prospect there might have been of arousing popular enthusiasm for the measures devised in the secret chambers of the Secretariat was, we fear, entirely destroyed by the course adopted by Lord Willingdon in the strictures he took upon himself to pass on certain political leaders, with special reference to what he was pleased to term as "the political organisation called the Home Rule League." Of these gentlemen his Excellency was good enough to say that he could not "honestly feel sure of the sincerity of their support," and he emphasised this expression of doubt by repeating it twice. Asseverating that he did not wish in any detail to criticise their action in the past, his Excellency proceeded to do so, at any rate, at some length. He

accused them of "increasing the difficulties and embarrassment of Government whenever they could" and of failing to give that help to Government to which he was fairly entitled. He gave his own Government a certificate of good conduct, the audacity of which takes away one's breath. He claimed for it a tolerance of. political agitation which his Government, and he in particular, has never shown. His own impatience of any kind of political agitation during the war has been publicly expressed too often to have been forgotten, nor is it likely that the public will ever forget that the Government of Bombay took the lead in the campaign of attempting to suppress free political discussion, first by the abortive prosecution of Mr. Tilak and next by the order of exclusion that was passed against Mrs. Besant. Without recalling anything further, those three things in themselves were sufficient to justify the bitterest of the bitter criticism which Lord Willingdon now resents in the tone of an injured innocent. But we need not pursue it. The answer to Lord Willingdon's petulant complaints of political agitation during the war has been given in a score of speeches by British statesmen and finally by the British Cabinet and by the Viceroy in the announcement made on August 20th last and the mission of Mr. Montagu to this country. But, if Lord Willingdon is anxious to avoid bitter criticism he should seek to avoid to provoke it. He has certainly provoked it, and he will get it in storms, by his speech of yesterday. We do not know what are his Excellency's ideas of hospitality, but it is evident that he has no appreciation of what is expedient in an endeavour to secure the co-operation of the people." Lord Willingdon should remember, when he presumes to castigate others, that a duty to the Empire rests upon him to see that no word or deed of his in the high office which he fills, serves to injure the cause in which the King-Emperor and his Allies are striving. Does he think that he fulfils that duty by inviting the popular leaders to a Conference for the purpose of securing their co-operation in war measures and then deliberately insulting them? That sort of thing may do for Sir Michael O'Dwyer or Sir James Meston and their taluqdars, but it is highly dangerous in the Bombay Presidency and we must tell Lord Willingdon frankly that this gratuitous and unsustainable accusation against people who enjoy the confidence of the people, coming from such a quarter, is calculated to do a hundred times more harm than

any political agitation could do. And in uttering it, he has done a grave disservice to the Empire.

We deplore deeply this utterance of Lord Willingdon and the subsequent incidents which induced Mr. Tilak and other Home Rule leaders to leave the meeting. Nothing but an attempt to utter disloyal sentiments could have justified the President in refusing to allow Mr. Tilak and Mr. Kelkar to speak. The first Resolution, in its terms, was more than a mere expression of loyalty, and invited discussion. There was no intention to move an amendment as his Excellency seemed to suppose, and why Mr. Kelkar was not allowed to put his "practical proposals" before the meeting is inexplicable, except on the basis that Lord Willingdon had made up his mind that no Home Rule leader could be trusted to speak on a resolution which expressed loyalty to the King-Emperor. Mr. Tilak and others were justified in leaving the meeting after this, but we are glad that Mr. Jinnah remained to express to the Governor, in the face of the assembly, his resentment at the insult offered to him and his fellow-workers in the Home Rule cause. That the matter can end there is impossible. Lord Willingdon has invited the storm. He must be prepared to face it.

TO YOUNG INDIA !

(From "Young India")

THE contretemps which arose at the Madras Provincial Conference over the passing of Mrs. Besant's Resolution—practically on all fours with that which was passed by the All-India Congress Committee—reveals the existence of a feeling among a considerable section of the public which it is not safe to ignore. The same feeling was evinced at the meeting of the All-India Committee, though ultimately,—as in the case of the Madras Provincial Committee—unanimity was accorded to the final passing of the whole resolution, which embodies a protest at the failure of Government to announce the change of policy which would enable public leaders to appeal for recruits with some hope of success, but at the same time calls upon the country to respond to the

call to arms, in view of the imminent peril of invasion which it is stated, overhangs us.

Now, we would say at the outset, that we are entirely in agreement with the attitude which Mrs. Besant has adopted. It seems to us the only logical attitude, the only attitude which loyalty to the Motherland and loyalty to the Empire can justify. Whatever your discontent with the Government, however bitter and justified your resentment at their indifference to your just claims, their dilatoriness in according you the most elementary rights at the time when the Empire is called upon to fight for the maintenance of liberty,—however bitterly you may feel all this and however justly founded may be your bitterness, when you are told that the Motherland is in danger of the invasion, that the peril may be near, that India will have to rely on her own resources,—when you are told all this, you cannot, if you have an ounce of patriotism in you, sit down and say: "No, the Government treats us with contempt, it cannot deal with us fairly, it is playing the old trick of dally and delay. Let the Germans come, they cannot be worse than our present masters. Domination, whether it is of the Prussian bureaucrat or any other, is all the same to me." You know that that is not true, though in your bitterness and anger you may feel inclined to say it. You know that the whole fate of India, the whole question of her destiny, whether she is to win her political freedom or not, depends upon the crushing of the hideous menace which at this moment hangs over the world. You know that the British democracy and the whole of the Allied peoples stand for political emancipation for all peoples and you know that it is through the British democracy, trimuphant with the Allies and with us in this war for the world's freedom, that you will and must win your freedom. But, if Prussianism triumphs what then? Have you more to hope from an England, if such a thing were possible, forced to make terms with triumphant Prussianism than an England that has waged war for freedom and won? Go further, face the whole of the other side of the picture. Have you more to hope from a Prussia, weltering in the blood of her victims, triumphant over fallen democracy, casting her greedy eyes on the wealth of India; or, worse still, from a Prussia which has already over-run your borders and found you unprepared? Will Prussia wish to see you free? What of Roumania; what of the poor, del uded, tricked Bolsheviks; what of the

Ukraine; what of Finland, what of the peasants of the Baltic Provinces and Livonia, handed back to the tender mercies of their old despotic bestial masters, the German landed proprietors? That is what Prussianism means.

Of course, you may feel that the menace is not real, that the peril so-called is a scare, a bogey raised to frighten us into providing more help for the Government. As to that, yours would not be the opinion of those who have studied the present military situation and know its possibilities. The menace is real, the invasion may come when you least expect it and find you unprepared, and your isolated opinion, that it is a bogey scare, will *not save you, if you are unprepared.* We asked a student the other day, if he would join a citizen army for the defence of the Motherland. "Well I don't know", he said indifferently, "I shall decide after my college course is over." What a conception of patriotism and duty! The Germans will not wait till his college course is over, and he may find his country gone before it is over. No, the young men of India have got to make up their minds now, without further thought or delay, whether they are going to make a citizen army for the defence of their Motherland, or whether they will leave it to mercenaries—perhaps to Japanese—and for ever lose their right to the claim of citizenship or self-respect. Those who have the true spirit of patriotism will respond without hesitation to Mrs. Besant's call to arms. They will not pause to think at this moment of the petty despotism of this official or that; or the irritating and in every way condemnable attitude of Government towards political emancipation, the delay in repealing the Arms Act, etc. They will remember that the Government that has hitherto scorned their aid, now seeks it, that it is now their part, as it is their right to take up arms for the Motherland and the Empire. That the opportunity is here and now to prove that the talk of India's Man-power was no empty boast. They will go to the colours in the spirit of Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy and Mrs. Besant's appeal to the nation, and above all, they will remember that in proving their capacity to fight for their Motherland, they will demonstrate for all time their right to hold that Motherland by themselves and for themselves so that she shall never return to political servitude.

EDITORIAL.

On October 11, 1917, the whole of Bombay, and indeed the whole country, was startled by the publication in the "Bombay Chronicle" of an article signed by Mr. Horniman, announcing his resignation of the Editorship of the paper which he had made his own and which was inevitably associated in the public mind with his name. The idea of the "Bombay Chronicle" without Mr. Horniman at its head was worse than "Hamlet" without the Prince of Denmark. The sensation that was caused when it was seen that Mr. Horniman—and the paper—were being sacrificed on account of differences with a Board of Directors, the members of which were out of touch with public opinion, was immense and the public indignation and consternation widespread. Mr. Horniman's friends, however, rallied round him and it was proposed to hold a public meeting of protest. The Board of Directors bowed before the storm, the majority of them resigned and were replaced by others in sympathy with the policy the paper had pursued under Mr. Horniman's editorship and Mr. Horniman was reinstated in the editorial chair. The following is the article in which he announced his resignation.

FOR the first time since "The Bombay Chronicle" was founded under my editorship four and a half years ago I am addressing its readers in the first person. It is also the last time. The reason is that I shall from to-day cease to be responsible for the editorial conduct of this journal and I feel that it is due to those who by their loyal, unstinted and, it is not too much to say, affectionate support, have helped me to make "The Bombay Chronicle" a great and influential organ of public opinion, to give some explanation through its columns, of the reasons that have forced me to hand my resignation to the Board of Directors of the Indian Newspaper Company. I need hardly say that this step has not been taken without a full sense of responsibility and would not have been taken had not circumstances made it impossible for me, consistently with my own self-respect and a sense of what is due to the public, to continue to accept the responsibility of the Editorship of a paper, the proprietors of which, as represented by a majority of the Board of Directors, have ceased to accord me that confidence and respect

which is essential to the continuance of relations, and in whom I, myself have ceased to have confidence and for whom I have ceased to have respect.

This is not the place in which to enter into details regarding the differences which have arisen between myself and those who are, for the time being, the trustees of the proprietary of the paper. It is sufficient to say that, dating from the time of the death of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, the late Chairman of the Board, presistent attempts have been made to encroach upon the position of authority which was a condition in the terms on which I originally agreed to undertake the conduct of the paper. This has for a long time past made my position one of a very invidious character and only a sense of the responsibility I owed to the public has persuaded me to defer so long the step I am now forced to take. I wish it to be understood that the action I am now taking is, thus, not in any way of a hasty character, but that it has been forced upon me by the fact that my constant representations to the Board of the Indian Newspaper Company have either been ignored or put off with promises and undertakings that have never been fulfilled. And I should have taken the step I am now taking earlier, had I not felt during the critical times of the past few months the grave danger to the public interests that might have been involved in allowing the editorial conduct of "The Bombay Chronicle" to pass into other hands. That danger of course still exists, but is not now, I trust, of so urgent a character. However, that may be, the facts that the Directors have, without any reference to me, installed as Printer and Publisher of the paper and Superintendent of the Press, persons in whom I cannot have confidence, and that they have held a consultation with the Governor of Bombay and certain officials, regarding the policy of the paper, without revealing a word of what has taken place to me, make it impossible that I can continue to accept the responsibility of continuing as Editor. I cannot say more at present, but my readers may rest assured that I shall take an early opportunity of taking the public fully into my confidence and acquainting them in detail with what has been going on.

I need hardly say that it is with a deep sense of regret that I now say farewell to the readers of "The Bombay Chronicle." The past four years and a half have been for me a period of strenuous labour

and at times of intense personal anxiety. But it has been throughout a labour that has been fully rewarded by the splendid support that I have received from the public, not only of the Bombay Presidency but also of many other parts of India, and constant generous testimonies of public appreciation. Nor can I close these few words of farewell without expressing the deep debt of gratitude that I owe to a staff, whose loyal and affectionate support has been unvarying and unstinted under circumstances of constant difficulty and trial. No words of mine can adequately express the value of the services they have rendered to the public in the part they have played in building up "The Bombay Chronicle" as a valued public institution, the utility of which, it is my sincere hope, may be maintained unimpaired in the future. For the rest I need only add that the severance of my relations with the reading public of Bombay and the country at large will not be of long duration.

B. G. HORNIMAN.

INDIA'S REASONABLE DEMAND.

Mr. B. G. Horniman presided over the First West Khandesh District Conference held at Dhulia on December 15, 1917. His address was delivered extempore and was deeply appreciated by the large and influential gathering.

AFTER thanking the members of the Conference for the honour conferred on him, the President congratulated them on the activity they were displaying at the time when it was so essential that the whole country should present a united front and put forward a united demand. Continuing Mr. Horniman said :—

By the holding of such Conferences, at this particular time, we are able to show the Government that public opinion in the country is behind the Congress and to give the Congress the assurance if it were needed, that it has the mandate of the country to present and press forward the programme of reforms which we commonly know as the Congress and League Scheme. We ourselves are well aware of the unity of the vast bulk of the Indian people in support of these demands

as the irreducible minimum of reform which can satisfy the political hunger of India at the stage at which the country has now arrived. But every meeting that is held, every conference that assembles, helps to swell the volume of approval and determination that is at the back of that demand, and to silence the voices of those who attempt to represent that the Congress is not a truly national and representative body. We have allowed, perhaps, too much to be taken for granted in the past. But we have to remember that our enemies have no wish to grant anything, and they have made the most in the past, of misrepresenting the Congress as a sort of 'tamasha' which comes off once a year, affords amusement and a little recreation to a few people, and leaves the country to sleep over its wrongs during the remainder of the twelve months.

Need for Agitation.

In politics, if you want to get what you need, the only safe watchword is incessant and never-flagging activity. The Congress in the past has done a great and noble work, but it has not done all that it might have done, in organising and stimulating that perpetual activity in the country which should be the mainspring of the work which finds its concentrated expression in the great national assembly once a year. The importance of this has been demonstrated during the past two years or so by the immense strides which have been made in bringing our political demands to the very front of the Imperial stage through the active propaganda carried on by various bodies affiliated to the Congress,—the Home Rule Leagues in particular, and the Provincial and District Congress Committees in a lesser degree. I am a member of the Home Rule League. (Cheers). But I should like to say here that I am first a member of the National Congress and that I am a member of the Home Rule League, because it is an organisation formed with the object of carrying forward by active propaganda the work of the Congress. (Cheers). The enemies of the national aims of India have endeavoured to bring about a cleavage between the two organisations and have unscrupulously misrepresented the Home Rule League as a body which is aiming at something different and beyond the declared objects of the Congress. As you very well know this is a most disgraceful misrepresentation. (Cheers). The Home Rule League stands for the Congress programme of self-government, and it is for

the Congress programme it has worked, and will continue to work! If however, it has set a new example of activity and has acted on the motto, which every great statesman who expects to succeed keeps before him, that agitation is the salt of success in politics, and by so doing has helped to put forward the clock of progress in the country and has brought India within actual sight of the promised land, then I am the more proud to boast of my membership of the Home Rule League and acknowledge myself the follower of and pay my humble tribute to that great woman, (loud cheers) who was the first among us to realise that India was about to be forgotten, and thrust aside in the struggle for existence in the Empire; who brought home to us the need for immediate self-assertion and showed us the way through the gates of hope and to the goal of realisation. It is as well that we should clear our minds of cant and I would ask some of those,—a microscopic minority as I believe,—in our ranks who would decry the leadership ot Mrs. Besant and the work of the Home Rule Leagues to ask themselves the question: Had it not been for both, would the Secretary of State have come to India on his present mission and would India have been on the eve, as we verily believe she is, of attaining that blessed gift of responsible self-government, on which depends her future, peace, contentment and progress? (Cheers).

Agitation Justified.

The unanswerable justification of political agitation is its success. And so far, we have succeeded. We can afford, therefore, to ignore those who have misrepresented our methods, who have attempted to stifle the popular voice by means of repression and the hardly scrupulous use of enactments intended for a very different and a worthier purpose; above all, those good people who were never tired of telling us of the impropriety of our conduct in carrying on political agitation at such a time and wondered with uplifted hands and in shocked tones what the rest of the Empire—all of whom were equally busy with their own political concerns—would think of our behaving in this way! I think when even Lord Curzon protests against the foolish and futile attempt to enchain the forces of the world and denounces the folly of those who would make the war an excuse for delaying political reforms in India, and when the Cabinet itself sends the Secretary of State to India to discuss the reforms with the Government and the people of the country,

those of us who were rebuked and reproved in Pecksniffian phrases for our temerity in conducting this agitation, may continue to smile and press forward as we have always done. (Cheers).

THE WAR AND INDIA.

It is usual on all public occasions at the present time to commence our addresses with a reference to the War. Some of these are, however, of a very perfunctory character. I do not propose to be an exception in the former respect but I trust that I shall be in the latter, for the War is a subject, which must necessarily stand before everything in our minds—especially at this juncture when our hopes of a speedy victory have just been somewhat damped—and you will pardon me if I am more than perfunctory and venture to give some special attention to this subject since the War is the issue on the success or failure of which all our hopes depend and is in fact closely co-related to and inseparable from everything for which we, ourselves, are carrying on our peaceful agitation. I am not a military expert and I do not propose to tread paths of criticism and explanation which are bestrewn with pitfalls even for the experts, as we see demonstrated almost every day, as much almost in the case of the expert general as the expert critic. But I would ask those who may think my advice is worth anything not to take a pessimistic view of the War. The cruel power of German Militarism, the "ugly thing which has shown its face to the world" as President Wilson said, is after all being gradually worn down and will ultimately be utterly broken. The process is more tedious than we anticipated, the sacrifices grow greater and the temporary disappointments seem almost interminable.

THE LESSON OF THE WAR.

But the true optimist takes his misfortunes and set-backs as scourges which tend to cleanse him of his bad qualities, and while we abominate war as a principle and regard with loathing the selfish brutism which has plunged the world into this maelstrom of bloodshed and torture we cannot but console ourselves with the reflection that the world is after all undergoing a purifying process. (Hear, Hear.) The German nightmare has brought home to the world at large the dangers that arise if the lust for domination is allowed to taste domination and is teaching it the fundamental lesson that we must love our neighbours as ourselves

if we are concerned for the happiness and progress of humanity. In that simple injunction uttered by the founder of Christianity is comprehended the whole lesson of the comity of peoples and the philosophy of democracy, which contains the only principles on which nations can progress along peaceful and contented lines for their own prosperity. These principles have been enunciated and elaborated during the past three years by British Statesmen of every shade of opinion and there is no audience left for the old Jingo Imperalism, little separated from the Prussian power-lust, in the British Empire to-day. (Cheers). We entered this War to defend liberty and to assert the right of the weaker peoples to live their own lives as they wish to live them and to enjoy the priceles right of self-government. It would be a sad day, if it ever dawned, that found the British Empire, which has made such colossal and noble sacrifices in this great battle for freedom, remaining at the end of it the champion of freedom for the weaker peoples of Europe, but condoning racial privilege and domination within its own borders. But that such a day can ever dawn I do not believe. (Cheers.) The British people, like the Indian people, only needed awakening. The War they are waging, the sacrifices they are making for others, have shown them as in a mirror, the weaknesses of which they themselves must be purged and the duty they owe to those whose destinies have been committed to their care. It would be as great a disaster as and perhaps greater, for India than any part of the Empire, if after all the blood that has been shed, the treasure that has been poured out, and the suffering that has been undergone, counsels of weakness were to prevail at this hour and the sword were sheathed before the final victory is achieved (Cheers.)

India's Share in the Reward.

We entered this War, the people of India as passionately as those of any part of the Empire or the Allied countries, to slay the dragons of brute force and racial dominance and I believe the people of India would oppose any suggestion of a premature peace, a peace concluded without that being done, with the same degree of passion as they threw all their weight into the cause of the Allies when the battle-flag of freedom was first unfurled in August 1914. Well may we be grateful for the moving words of President Wilson and the solemn repetition by Mr.

Asquith of the pledge he gave on behalf of Great Britain at the beginning of the war. We are as impatient of any sort of compromise with the sinister forces arrayed against the Allies as President Wilson himself, and we are as determined as he and his people that the price of peace shall be, to quote his own words, "full and impartial justice at every point and to every nation which the final settlement must affect—our enemies as well as our friends." We do not want this great world struggle to end in "covenants of selfishness and compromise." There may be those who are untouched by the noble inspirations that have been sprung by the battle-cries of this great struggle for humanity's full emancipation, who regard with aversion the mighty forces of freedom that have been unloosed. They are those who have stood hitherto for policies of dictation and domination, who have sought to enchain the forces of freedom. (Cheers.) We can well understand that they feel the pangs of war weariness more keenly than the inspiration to press on to the final victory. But there can be no such unworthy thoughts in India, whose people look rightly and justly to reap something of the reward that is coming to the world out of this great purge of suffering, for which they too, have made no mean sacrifice on behalf of others. That reward they will win from a British democracy returning side by side with them triumphant from the battlefields on which tyranny has been slain and freedom loosed from its chains. (Cheers.)

India's Neglected Man-power.

I have a few more words to say in reference to the War and India's relation to it, if you will bear with me, before I pass to our more domestic topics. We have recently had to suffer many disappointments to our hope that victory and the end were near. Russia, suffering from the anarchical influences that are products, not of revolution and new born democracy as some would have us believe, but of centuries of a cruel and grinding tyranny, has disappeared from the arena, and the Teutonic alliance relieved of the menace on their Eastern and Southern frontiers, have been thus enabled to strike a fresh blow at Italy and to bring unexpected reinforcements to aid in the resistance on the Western front. Once more the Allies are faced with the problem of man-power which they thought they had solved, for it is now man-power alone, not guns, munitions or aeroplanes, which is enabling Germany and her allies to sustain their resistance. Is it not a sad reflection that the narrow

prejudices that always interpose a curtain of resistance between the generous instincts of the British people and the people of India, have successfully prevailed in the prevention of the full utilisation of the man-power of India in bringing this great struggle to a close? (Cheers) Can any one suppose that if Indians had been offered the privilege of volunteering on terms of self-respect,—Indian regiments officered and commanded by Indians,—the men of this country would not have come forward in overwhelming numbers to volunteer? (Cheers.) What is it that prevents a measure of conscription from being introduced in this country? The fact that it would have to be imposed on the people by a Government that does not govern by the voice and consent of the people, but imposes its views and acts on the people without reference to their duly ascertained wishes. If Government in this country were broad-based on the people's will, if we were once and for all rid of that "ugly thing" which unhappily still raises its head,—the spirit of racial dominance and privilege imposing humiliating disabilities on the men of the country in the national army,—can anyone think that the people's will would not have been expressed ere now in a magnificent contribution of man-power to the Allied armies? A distinguished Indian, one of our foremost leaders, once said to me, "Give us Home Rule to-morrow and we will give you conscription in a week." (Loud cheers.) And I for one do not doubt his words. When we reflect that if you took in India one man in eight you would exceed the contribution of man-power of Great Britain to the present war, should it not provoke the reflection: Is it worth while still to haggle over the terms on which you will release Indians from racial humiliations in the army and give them the power to manage their own affairs? (Cheers.)

India's Demand.

Gentlemen, I now pass to the great domestic problem—the problem that has been agitating the whole country for the last two years in an unparalleled degree, but which is no new problem sprung upon the country at an awkward juncture by unscrupulous agitators with their own ends to serve, as some would have us believe. It is a problem that has been before this country for many years: How soon the demand of the people to be the managers of their own affairs is to be conceded. That is a question that was becoming of larger and larger importance before the war ever began. The agitation for self-government was

in existence long before the war and would have continued to grow if there had been no war. The idea that the war should be a bar to its discussion or should even prevent the grant of reforms which will place self-government on a sound basis seems to me extraordinary and paradoxical. To mind the war, since the war itself is being fought to establish throughout the world the principles of democracy, it is essential that we should put our own house in order if we are going to boast about these aims—the war far from being made an excuse for delaying reform, provides a most urgent reason for hastening and pressing on with it in order that there may no longer be the reproach against the British Empire that the bureaucratic administration of India is the very negation of the principles asserted by British statesmen and that this blot in the British escutcheon may be removed. We find that there is but one voice among the foremost statesmen of the Empire in regard to the principles of Government—whether it is Mr. Lloyd George, the Prime Minister, who speaks, Mr. Asquith, the Liberal ex-Prime Minister, or Mr. Balfour, the Conservative ex-Prime Minister. All have laid down and emphasised the principle that the only right kind of Government, the only just kind of Government, and in fact the only Government—I believe that was how Mr. Balfour put it—is that which is representative of the people, exists by the consent of the people and can only act on the wishes of the people. (Cheers.) Well, if that is the only sort of Government that can be permitted on principle, and we turn to this great land with its 320,000,000 inhabitants, a land glorified and cultured by the most ancient and not the least admirable of civilisations, and find that it does not enjoy the shadow of a shade of self-government, that at no point and in no respect do the people possess the least control over the administration, the raising of the taxes they pay or the spending of the money thus obtained, and that the administration is carried on by an alien bureaucracy, who regard themselves as the masters of the country—when we find here all this astonishing denial and defiance of that very principle of self-government so emphatically enunciated by British statesmen, it appears to me that Indians are not so much called upon to make out a case for the grant of self-government as those who now control her destinies are called upon to make out a case for not giving it to her at once. (Loud cheers.) The burden of proof is on them and it appears to me that the task which

has been undertaken by some parties to show cause why India should not have self-government in defence of the principles enunciated by British statesmen is one in which they have up to the present lamentably failed. And in the nature of things they must fail, for all the reasons which they advance for the refusal of self-government are inevitably based on their own self-interests and are the antithesis of the only principle on which any discussion of the question can possibly proceed.

THE CALCUTTA SHOPKEEPERS.

It has been my painful duty during the past few weeks to read through a vast number of addresses and memorials presented to the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu by various public bodies and associations, as well as private individuals, some of whom are in opposition to our Congress scheme of reforms and in fact to any reform at all. In reading these latter documents I have been very much impressed by the beautiful altruism which inspires some of these public bodies of a non-Indian character in their valiant efforts to save India from the disaster of self-government. (Laughter) It is sad indeed that such nobility of motive should be misrepresented. (Renewed laughter.) There is the Calcutta Trades' Association, for instance, which presented a memorial to Mr. Montagu. They commence by announcing that their Association is composed of European firms engaged in trade in Calcutta and its objects are, "generally to promote the interests of the (European) trading community—they left out "European," but I have put it in for them—and (*inter alia*) to consider all questions connected with the trade of Calcutta and amongst other things to consider, promote, or oppose any legislative or other measures affecting such trade." So we are quite clear as to what the objects of the Association are. (Laughter.) They have nothing to do, so far as I can see, with the interests or the welfare of the Indian people, but are exclusively concerned with the selfish ends of a handful of shopkeepers. (Laughter.) It is very touching therefore to find these people hurrying to the Secretary of State to tell him that they above all are the repository of the innermost desires of the masses of the country and that self-government is neither desired by the masses nor can it possibly be for their good. (Laughter.) At the outset they denounce the demands that are being put forward as "revolutionary in character and extent" and the people who put them forward as "sections whose interests are not in any sense the interests of the vast

majority of the people." So, ladies and gentlemen, we know exactly where we stand. (Laughter.) You, gentlemen, sitting here and your leaders, such men as the Hon. Mr. Jinnah, who was president of your Provincial Congress, Mr. Tilak, Mr. Gandhi or Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas and a dozen others I could mention, whose names are household words in the country, (Cheers) are not of the people or the country and your and their interests are not in any sense the interests of the Indian people. (Laughter.) But the interests of the people, we are to believe, are more truly represented and more honourably and fairly protected by Mr. Jones or Mr. Robinson who comes out from England, or Mr. MacKenzie, who comes from Scotland, opens a shop in Chowringhee, Calcutta, and goes back as soon as he has accumulated enough money to live in Clapham or Dundee. (Loud laughter.) Was anything more absurd and preposterous ever heard of? (Cheers.) I can only suppose that the Calcutta Trades' Association hoped that the portentous sound of their name and their description of the reforms that are proposed, would be accepted without question by the Secretary of State and the public in England, for neither one nor the other will bear a moment's investigation. (Hear, hear.)

What is the Calcutta Trades' Association?

The Calcutta Trades' Association, no doubt, sounds a very grand and rolling title. It might suggest to any outsider who knew no better that the Association represented the trade of an important province and port—trade being a very comprehensive term which is usually intended to embrace the trade and commerce of a country. But what is this Calcutta Trades' Association which takes upon itself to represent the masses of India and to lay down Imperial policies for the guidance of the Secretary of State? It consists actually of a few dozen shopkeepers,—tailors, haberdashers, pastry cooks, iron-mongers and shoemakers (Loud laughter),—all aliens to the country,—some of them not even British subjects—who trade over their counters in foreign-made goods,—not with the Indian masses, whom they would scorn to admit inside their shops, but chiefly with the Europeans and Indian Maharajas. This is the body that goes before Mr. Montagu with the presumptuous title of the Calcutta Trades' Association and poses as the friend of the Indian people and the guide and philosopher of the Government,—which presumes to deny the right of the people of India to have self-government

pose as the only true friends of the Indian people and demand all these privileges and special considerations as aliens, who are not even domiciled in this country, who go back to Europe as soon as they have accumulated sufficient wealth and do not even give the country the benefit of the capital they earn in it, beyond their expenditure on the immediate needs of the moment. (Cheers.)

IRRELEVANT OBJECTIONS.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, I have searched these and other similar addresses presented to Mr. Montagu to find a single sound or well considered argument against the case for such a reform of the administration in this country as will give the people of this country the definite control of their affairs, within certain limits and safeguards necessitated by India's inclusion in the British Empire, in which she willingly acquiesces and without which we admit she would have only a profitless existence, at any rate for many generations to come. (Hear, hear.) Their arguments are based on every sort of irrelevant consideration. Social divisions and caste distinctions are regarded as an inseperable barrier to self-government both by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and the Calcutta Trades' Association, though we all know the rigid social division and caste distiction that exist between the two classes represented respectively by the members of those bodies. In England divisions and distinctions, whether social, racial or religious have no political recognition and no political value whatsoever and there is no reason why they should have in India. Then, we are told the people are illiterate, and there is no electorate available. Such are the sophistries with which it is sought to put off the evil day for privilege and racial domination. Well, we know the people are appallingly illiterate—a fact as to which the less said about it by those who defend the present system the better. (Cheers.) But that is a very good argument for the grant of Self-Government for, if you look over the world, you will find that the freer the country and the greater the extent to which the control of the administration is in the hands of the people, the more rapid and extensive is the progress of primary education. And to my mind the only hope for the cure of this evil of illiteracy in this country within as reasonable a time as is humanly possible, lies in the power to press it forward and the solution of it being transferred from an academically-minded bureaucracy to the representatives of the people. (Loud cheers.)

THE ELECTORATE.

And we know that there is not an electorate of the kind requisite for such a measure of self-government as we demand, but the material with which to constitute an electorate exists and there need be no difficulty in constituting it when we honestly set out on the path of genuine reform. Beyond this I cannot. with all honesty. find anything in these addresses, which oppose and denounce the reforms demanded in the Congress-League Scheme, but considerations of selfishness and the desire to perpetuate racial privilege and vested interest. And the same is true regarding that nebulous body known as the Anglo-Indian League, which certainly does not represent the views of large numbers of Anglo-Indians whom I meet. and that very noisy body the European Association. who like most noisy people. found, when they sat down to devise a scheme of reform, that they could come to no sort of agreement among themselves.

THE PATHETIC FIGURE OF MR. CURTIS.

Then there is the pathetic figure of Mr. Lionel Curtis (Laughter) of whom no doubt you have all heard. since he is a very good advertiser of himself, and whose patient industry must be the despair of his friends as it is the envy of his opponents. Mr. Curtis has produced a scheme which, I am sorry to say has been god-fathered by a few Indians. I do not want to be rude but I can only call it a ridiculous scheme. (Cheers.) We are continually being asked by critics of the Congress-League Scheme whether we have ever heard of this, that or the other thing being done in any other country in the world. Well. I think we may safely search this and a few other worlds before we ever come across such a preposterous hybrid scheme as Mr. Curtis has proposed. (Laughter)—that one part of the Government should be administered bureaucratically without legislative control and the other part—such delightful things as roads and bridges—by ministers controlled by and responsible to the legislature. But even this popularly elected branch of the Government is to be under various pains and penalties of suspension, etc., for misbehaviour and is to be constantly guarded and watched by special commissioners, who no doubt would be on the *qui vive* for the first offence (Laughter). That, gentlemen, is the measure of fitness for self-government which you possess in the eyes of Mr. Curtis, who came here in a state of ignorance about India a year

ago and who does not seem to have learnt much in the interval. That also is the measure of respect for their fellow-countrymen's fitness possessed by the Indian gentlemen who have put their names to the curious document. I do not know how any self-respecting Indian could have brought himself to sign it. (Hear, hear.)

THE CONGRESS SCHEME.

Well, gentlemen, I will pass from all this and come to the scheme of reform that we are here to support and press forward as a demand the concession of which is absolutely essential to the future peace, contentment, and progress of the country. And let us say at the outset that we want the scheme, the whole scheme and nothing but the scheme. (Loud cheers.) We shall refuse to be content with anything less. That is what we ask for. Can it be said in these days of world-wide acceptance of the democratic principle that it is revolutionary or unreasonable? We recognise and concede that the policy regarding foreign affairs and the Imperial forces must remain under the exclusive control of his Majesty's Government and whatever requirements they lay down must be complied with. Beyond that we ask that the Legislative Councils should be properly constituted bodies elected by the people to the extent of four-fifths, leaving a margin to the Government for nomination of members representing sections or classes of the population whose interests may be in danger of being swamped. Then we ask that these popularly elected legislatures, duly responsible to the people, shall be entitled to elect one half of the executive council in their respective provinces and in the Imperial Council, and that they should have the power to amend or reject Money Bills, meaning that it will be in their power to control the raising and the expenditure of the public revenues. I cannot see anything very revolutionary in this. It contains only the elements of that form of free government which we are told, day in and day out, is indispensable to the happiness and progress of nations. It does not even give us the complete control of the executive and we have put in, as Sir S. P. Sinha said once on a different occasion, all sorts of safeguards,—the veto over the legislative acts, and the power to suspend the operation of any decision of the legislature by Government, if it has reason to think such decision is against the interests of the Empire, or not in accordance with the wishes of the people. Are we asking for too much? Well, my own opinion is that we are not asking for enough. (Cheers.) But that is the

Congress Scheme, the irreducible minimum on which we are all agreed. and less than which cannot satisfy the political hunger of India. If any one honestly thinks that it does not represent the views of the Indian people, I ask him to come to the Congress at Calcutta which will voice this demand. and then see whether he can honestly say that the Congress is not a representative body, which supplemented by the voice of the All-India Moslem League does not represent the masses. If he is not convinced after this, I ask him to accompany any one of our popular leaders, Mrs. Besant. Mr. Tilak or Mr. Gandhi on a tour through the country and to see whether the masses are in sympathy with us or not. And after that I challenge him to deny a fact which is patent to all who have had any experience of recent political propaganda in this country. (Cheers.)

No Taxation Without Representation.

Well, then gentlemen, there is the question of the electorate. The Congress-League Scheme asks for an electorate on a broad and liberal franchise. I do not see any difficulty in constituting an electorate. A large and overwhelming proportion of the people of this country may be illiterate but they have to pay their taxes all the same (laughter) and my own opinion is that a man who is intelligent enough to pay a tax is intelligent enough to exercise the vote and say how his money should be spent,—whether on excessive and princely salaries to officials or on the education of his own children. (Loud cheers). There was a vast mass of illiteracy in the United States of America when the enunciation and establishment of that elemental principle of 'no taxation without representation' was first achieved and there was a goodly proportion of illiteracy when the great Reform Bill of 1832 was carried in England. But George Washington did not stop to say all the people must first be educated nor did the House of Commons think so in 1832. There is only one way if you are going to follow democratic principles and that is to stick to them all the way. (Cheers). We can constitute a broad and democratic franchise in India by proceeding on the right lines of allowing those who pay the piper to call the tune and avoiding the pitfalls of indirect electorates and minority electorates. I regret to see proposals put forward for election under this scheme to the Legislative Councils by members of local government bodies. I think that is a grave error. The people must be in direct relation to the legislature if

you are going to avoid the possible risks of oligarchical domination of which we hear so much from our critics. I regret, too, the movement that has been on foot, artificially and malignantly instigated and stimulated in most cases, as I believe, for the special representation of small minorities. If these people had their way there would be such a vast number of special electorates that the general electorate would ultimately be the smallest minority electorate. But these demands seem to be based on fears which have no foundation. It is not the non-Brahmins who will be in danger of being swamped but the Brahmins; nor is it the Lingayats who are in danger of being kept out of the Councils but their fellow Hindus who are in a minority in the districts where the Lingayats are to be found. Even the Parsis, or a few gentlemen professing to represent the community,—with what authority I do not know,—have put forward a claim for separate representation. I do not think Parsis have any justification for supposing that their interests are likely to suffer in a special electorate. They apparently forget, these self-constituted spokesmen of the Parsi community, that in this Presidency an electorate composed in the large majority of Hindus and in the minority of Mahomedans and Europeans sent a Parsi as their representative to the Imperial Council and elected him over the heads of recognised Hindu leaders because amongst those good men they thought he was the best man and did not care whether he was a Parsi, Christian, Hindu or Mahomedan. What then have the Parsis to fear? (Hear, Hear). I am afraid, gentlemen, behind all the daily springing up of fresh claims to separate representation, like mushrooms in the night, is the "unseen hand" of those who would wreck our schemes and blast our hopes, and who afraid to work in the open, pull the strings of self-interest and selfish fears from behind the scenes. (Loud cheers).

Mr. Horniman concluded with an appeal to all to avoid the snares that were being set for Indians by these separatist proposals and to realise that the salvation of the country lay in unity and adherence to the true democratic principles of equality. (Prolonged cheers).

HOW LONG?

(From "Young India").

We have seldom read anything so shocking in the nature of a public document as the Press Note issued by the Government of Bengal in explanation of the scandal of the arrest and detention in jail of two innocent women under the Defence of India Act. And incidentally we cannot help regarding it as a measure of the demoralisation that has overtaken the administration in that province, that they should have offered the public such an amazing and scandalous story of official ineptitude, blundering and callousness accompanied only by a mild and perfunctory expression of regret for a series of incidents of which everybody concerned should be heartily ashamed. The affair has bearings, of course, which reach far beyond the unfortunate experience of the two ladies who were dragged about the Bankura District in circumstances of a most degrading character, grave as that is. For if this is what happened in the case of two females, against whom there was not really the faintest shadow of suspicion, what must be the case when the C.I.D. are dealing with young men against whom they may have some sort of tangible suspicion, but no evidence to bring them to trial and when there is no fear that their mode of procedure will ever see the light of day?

However, to deal with the case of the two ladies of Bankura. First, we find that merely because a woman's name is found on a slip of paper in the possession of a suspected member of a revolutionary gang,—for in all these cases it is only a question of suspicion,—that is considered sufficient ground to telegraph to the local Superintendent of Police to search her house and arrest her. And the latter is so imbued with the wideness of the powers exercised by the C. I. D. under the Defence Act and other repressive provisions, and the reckless impunity with which they are used, that he proceeds to arrest, not anyone properly corresponding to the description given him but somebody of a similar name who, he "surmises", is the person indicated by assuming that the name of the person in whose house she was supposed to be living has been

wrongly given in the telegram containing his instructions,—that is to say he discovers a Sindubala Dasi in the house, not of Ramanbia the name given in the telegram, but in the house of one Kunja Ghose. Ramanbia he therefore "surmises" must be a mistake for Kunja. So the Sindubala in the house of Kunja Ghose is arrested. But then he comes across another Sindubala in the house of one Debendra. "Oh," he says to himself, "perhaps Ramanbia was a mistake for Debendra." So he arrests the second Sindubala. Fortunately he did not come across any more ladies of the name of Sindubala, as he might well have done, so there were no more "surmises" and "doubts" to be provided against, and he proceeded to trail these two ladies about the District on foot, by bullock cart and by train, until he got them to the jail at Bankura where they were locked up and actually detained for over a fortnight while reports lay on the table at Calcutta, awaiting the return of the Superintendent in the C.I.D. office who was dealing with the matter, and later. for a period of about 14 days, apparently, while the Deputy-Inspector-General awaited a reply to a telegram which his office never sent. If any one had told this story except on official authority it would have been regarded as absolutely incredible. But it is gravely related in the Press Note of the Bengal Government as though it were not after all a very serious affair. And the Government contents itself with recording its opinion that the "order of arrest was an error of judgment," the action of the Superintendent was "justified by a *bona-fide* doubt" and that the rest of it all "is to be regretted." Could one ask for a more disgraceful example of official incompetence, carelessness and indifference coming on top of a gross misuse of powers which should only be exercised, if at all, with the utmost caution and care? Opinion in the Press has been unanimous that the officers concerned ought to be sharply punished for this infliction of degradation and suffering on two helpless and innocent ladies, by their blunders and high-handed action. It is clear that nobody is safe while such men have it in their power to arrest and detain innocent people.

Worse than the Press Note is the explanation offered by Lord Ronaldshay to his Council and his attempt to justify his Government in countenancing the reign of terror which the police have set up in Bengal. It has to be remembered that the confession of their blunder was forced upon the officials concerned in this particular case by the outcry that was

raised in the press at the arrest and degrading treatment accorded to two *purdah* ladies. We doubt, if the same thing had happened in the case of a couple of young men, whether we should have ever heard anything about it, all requests for information being refused or turned aside "in the public interest." All Lord Ronaldshay can say in expiation of the terrible use that is being made in his province of the powers of the Defence Act is that people are apt "to lose sight of the horror and misery that the public themselves have been saved from by the action which Government have been compelled to take." If there were any basis for this statement it still would be no justification for the infliction of horror and misery on thousands of innocent people,—the *detenus* and their families,—who have been made to suffer by the secret doings of the police in Bengal. But as an argument for the use of these arbitrary powers, in the shocking way in which they have been used, it does not bear a moment's examination. You might as well arrest and keep in custody without trial everybody whom the police chose to pounce upon as being potential burglars, or pickpockets, or any other sort of criminals and then, having filled the jails with people who had never been tried, invite an outraged public to contemplate all the misery and horror that might have been, if these police suspects had really been criminals and had been free to commit the crimes which the police chose to say they were likely to commit. It is difficult to know how to characterise the speech of a Governor of a British Province in which defiance of the recognised principles and traditions of British justice is sought to be justified by the sort of argument that one would expect to emanate from the German professors on whom the task is imposed of justifying the excesses of German militarism in Belgium and elsewhere. But the irony is, that, if we come to analyse the horror and misery that has been caused by the crimes of Bengal anarchists up to the time that the police were entrusted with these arbitrary powers of arrest, detention and investigation, the whole sum of them is not enough to bear any relation to the misery and horror that is being suffered daily by all these unfortunate *detenus* and their equally unfortunate relatives who have to undergo the most harrowing anxiety. You can move in an eternal cycle by adopting Lord Ronaldshay's comfortable line of reasoning if it can be called such. First you make your anarchist, then you say his existence justifies every sort of repressive

measure by which the innocent must suffer with the guilty,—or those whom you choose to say are guilty, without going through the form of any recognised legal process. And so you create in this way material for more potential anarchists and then you must have more repressive measures. Where will this sort of thing end? How long are the people to endure this terror that hangs over them, by which no man knows to-day whether some beloved relative will be snatched from him to-morrow and disappear into the far-flung Bastille of the Bengal C.I.D.? Does Lord Ronaldshay, does Lord Chelmsford, does Mr. Montagu suppose that you can go on ruling a province of so many millions of people by these methods without earning the reprobation of the world? Even if repressive measures are justified by the need of the moment,—though we do not admit that,—what are you doing to remedy the causes which have produced the conditions which make the anarchist? There is only one real cure, of course, and that the radical one. Give the people of Bengal the control of their own revenues, hand over the control of the schools and colleges to the management of Bengalis and open the professions fully and freely to the young Bengali. Let young Bengal feel itself free to develop like the youth of other countries, by removing every vestige of racial preference and dominance and every sort of humiliating restriction. Then you will cease to create anarchists and to need repressive measures.

THE BENGAL TERROR.

At a meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council on July 3, 1918, Lord Ronaldshay made a speech, in which he pointedly referred to the question of the treatment of Political detenus. It transpired from his speech that Mrs. Besant as President of the Indian National Congress, had made representations to the Viceroy, alleging, on facts that had been brought to her notice, various kinds of brutal treatments of the detenus and political prisoners by the Bengal C. I. D. Lord Ronaldshay, to whom the Viceroy seems to have forwarded Mrs. Besant's statement, deputed Mr. Stevenson Moore—a Bengal civilian—and Sir B. C. Mitter to investigate the complaints, in circumstances which rendered their enquiries of no real value as far as the public are concerned. These two gentlemen,

as was expected, in the circumstances, whitewashed the whole affair, and issued a certificate to the Police officers concerned. On the strength of this Committee's report, Lord Ronaldshay warmly eulogised the "English and Indian gentlemen serving in the police force" and denounced their traducers including Mrs. Besant. He also bitterly complained of the "indifference" of a certain section of the Press and the public, which according to him had added to the difficulties facing his Government. The following comment on Lord Ronaldshay's speech appeared in the "Bombay Chronicle."

IT is a pity that Lord Ronaldshay, while he was so busy on Wednesday in his speech to the Bengal Council criticising Mrs. Besant's methods in bringing to the notice of Government the abuses of the *detenu* system in Bengal, did not pause for a moment to reflect on the methods of his Government in dealing with the charges made. Mrs. Besant is well able to take care of herself and will no doubt answer Lord Ronaldshay in due course and effectively. But if Lord Ronaldshay thinks that his *ex parte* enquiry and his *ex parte* statements are going to satisfy the grave distrust and disapproval existing in the public mind regarding the whole of this *detenu* business, he is making a grave mistake. Lord Ronaldshay, who speaks with such impressive severity of the methods of the person who has had the courage to speak out regarding these scandals and at the same time to refuse to compromise her informants, has himself pursued methods in carrying out a so-called investigation which would be treated with ridicule in any well-governed country. The charges are of the most grave nature, there is nothing surreptitious about them, they are made publicly. If they are ill-founded, they must be refuted with equal publicity. That is, they must be investigated in such a manner that the searchlight of public criticism may be turned upon the method of enquiry, the evidence and the manner in which the conclusions based upon that evidence have been formed.

What does Lord Ronaldshay's Government do? It appoints two gentlemen, one a civilian official of Government and the other an ex-law officer of Government, whose pro-official tendencies are notorious, to make an enquiry. This is done privately, without the glimmer of an intimation to the public, that such an investigation is about to take place, and, what is worse, without any intimation to the person or persons who have brought forward the charges or complaints, who, at least, in any

sort of fair and honest enquiry, should have been allowed the opportunity of testing, in the usual way, the methods of investigation at each turn. However these two gentlemen proceed with their enquiry, the public are kept continuously in the dark, until Lord Ronaldshay announces to his Council that the enquiry has taken place and presents them, not with a detailed report showing the method pursued, the evidence taken and the reasons for the conclusions drawn, but a series of rhetorical comments on the clean bill of health which these secret investigations have given his officials and the iniquity of the person who gave publicity to the allegations. Whatever may be said of Mrs. Besant's methods of bringing into the public light allegations of this kind, we can only say that the method of investigating them, adopted by Lord Ronaldshay, is beneath contempt and his Excellency's rhetorical and tearful plea on behalf of the European and Indian gentlemen upon whom falls the repulsive duty of carrying out a system which has been paralleled only in countries which have been a bye-word for tyranny, is as irrelevant as it is puerile.

We will leave for a moment the case of the hundred or seventy-seven or even eleven detenus of the island near Chittagong. There have been public revelations, unassailable and irrefutable, made in the course of judicial proceedings instituted by Government and through other channels officially admitted, which are sufficient in themselves to fill any humane man possessing a due respect for human liberty and civic freedom with nausea at the results of the practical working of an unjudicia and tyrannous system, which, at the very outset, is admittedly condemnable in principle. By what right do you lock men up indefinitely without the semblance of a trial or judicial enquiry? Not by any right, but as an expedient forced upon you by the political and economical bankruptcy of your system of administration. But such expedients can never succeed in rectifying the wrong that exists. For every *detenu* you seize and lock up you create a hundred revolutionaries in mind and spirit, and when you carry a gang of sick men, imprisoned or detained without trial, on their beds, into a jail compound and proceed to try [illegible] by an arbitrary tribunal, from whose law and intelligence or hu[illegible] there is no appeal, for disobedience to regulations which no hum[illegible] should be able to enforce upon them,—do you suppose that you [illegible]ing or aggravating the spirit of discontent, sedition or revolution? [illegible] are questions which Lord Ronaldshay and all those responsible [illegible] destiny of British rule in Bengal would do well [illegible]

instead of indulging in rhetorical complaints of the "attitude of hostility towards the police" and "scarcely veiled sympathy with revolutionaries." We presume Lord Ronaldshay is not entirely non-perspicacious. As our correspondent telegraphed on Saturday his Government had to admit that four state prisoners and six *detenus* had become insane, that one state prisoner and two *detenus* had committed suicide, while four *detenus* had died during their detention. Does Lord Ronaldshay honestly think that these and all the other repulsive circumstances attendant upon the system of imprisonment without trial, now flourishing in Bengal, should make the Press and public love the people who are the willing instruments of Government in carrying it out? Does he think that by snatching men and youths from their homes, locking them up, interning them, indefinitely detaining them without trial, prosecuting and sending them to hard labour for petty breaches of the regulations by which their detention is governed, putting a strain on their mentality, that has driven some insane and some to suicide,—does he honestly expect public sympathy to flow out in an effulgent stream towards the Government that is responsible for all this, and not to the wretches who are its victims? British principles of freedom and liberty,—the only excuse for British rule in India,—are prostituted by the practice and defence of such methods. If Lord Ronaldshay cannot appreciate that as a sentiment, we must tell him as a fact that the revolutionary spirit is fostered, not crushed, by their pursuit and practices.

RESURGAM.

On June 16, 1917, the whole of India was shocked to learn that Mrs. Besant with two of her co-workers—Messrs. Arundale and Wadia—had been "interned" under the Defence of India Act. Prior to this culminating stroke of political misanthropy on the part of the Madras Government, the ground had been carefully prepared, and a day prior to the serving of the order, Mrs. Besant anticipated the breaking of the storm. Mr. P. K. Telang and Mr. B. G. Horniman proceeded the same night to Madras, as the result of a private conference held in Bombay of a few of the leaders of the Indian National Movement. It had been then decided that the Paper "New India" should on no account be allowed to stop.

Mrs. Besant had given up all hopes of preserving the paper but a message of hope and guarantee of friends was brought from her Bombay friends, and after consultation with Messrs. Horniman, Telang and Kelkar (the latter had also arrived from Poona) it was decided that Mr. Telang should take over "New India" and resume publication the next day.

In the first number issued under Mr. Telang's Editorship on June 21, 1917, Mr. Horniman wrote a signed article, which deeply stirred the whole country. Indeed, this article has been held to be one of his master-pieces and in all the annals of Indian journalism, we do not believe that a more powerful and cogent defence of freedom of person, writing and speech, has been made. We have retained the striking and prophetic title given to it by Mr. Horniman himself at the time.

TO-DAY "New India" makes its appearance after a suspension of its issue for three days. That, in the first place, is a profoundly satisfactory event in the struggle for freedom upon which Lords Chelmsford and Pentland have been persuaded to engage with the people of this country. The blow which struck at Mrs. Besant was drastic and thorough for the time being. As Lord Pentland told her, there could be no discrimination on the part of Government in regard to her activities. All were to be suppressed as completely and as rapidly as executive action could achieve. No time, no interval was allowed to put her affairs in order, to enable her to transfer to other hands the business of the production of this paper or any other publication for which she was responsible. The moment the Order was served, the publication of NEW INDIA automatically ceased, for simultaneously her two chief lieutenants were struck down. That, no doubt, was a supremely gratifying reflection to her oppressors and it would have been a correspondingly gloomy one to her friends and all those who stand for freedom, if the blow, so far as this journal, which Mrs. Besant has made the lusty trumpet of freedom, a bugle-call for liberty, was concerned, had been effectual and mortal. But Lord Pentland and those who have acted with him in this attempt to stifle and suppress freedom of discussion have yet to learn the lesson, which history should have taught them—that you may strike down, imprison or place in fetters the leaders of great causes a hundrd times, but the cause itself will live; and that the banner of freedom, once unfurled, though it may fall in the dust again and again, will always be uplifted afresh, to be borne and carried forward by brave and willing hands. Thus NEW INDIA, which Lord Pentland

sought to slay, though on Sunday last, it lay bleeding from a treacherous blow, to-day arises to wage anew the battle for Freedom and Home Rule for India. That is a fact, as gratifying and inspiring to our friends as—we have no doubt whatever—it is depressing to our enemies, who have now received their first small lesson in the severe course of education through which they will have to pass.

The second lesson, which we hope is now in process of assimilation, is, that the cause of Home Rule is not going to suffer by arbitrary repressive acts directed towards gagging its leaders. It is going to gain, and has already gained, greater strength thereby. At the risk of wearisome repetition let us state once more briefly what the policy of Home Rule, the Home Rule League and Mrs. Besant is. It is:

1. The ultimate attainment of full Self-Government within the British Empire.

2. The *early grant*, as demanded in the Congress Resolution, of a measure of Self-Government.

3. The immediate introduction after the War of the scheme of reforms drawn up by the Congress and the Muslim League, in which the power of the purse and all legislation shall be under the control of Legislative Councils, to be elected by the people, in the proportion of four-fifths, and the Executive Councils or "Cabinets" of the Viceroy and the Provincial Governors, shall consist, in the proportion of one-half, of Indians to be elected by the respective Legislative Councils.

That is the policy of the Home Rule League. It is the policy for which Mrs. Besant, through the Home Rule League, and through NEW INDIA, has worked. It is the policy of the Indian National Congress. The idea has been assiduously cultivated, that Mrs. Besant and the Home Rule League stood for some extreme policy, going far beyond the Congress programme, and that the bulk of the Congress workers looked at her askance. That, no doubt, is what Lord Pentland, who actually did not know—so he told Mrs. Besant in her interview with him—what the Congress Resolution was, was led to believe. And it was hoped that, by exposing this suppositious extremist propaganda to the condemnation of Government, threatening its leaders with pains and penalties, and carrying the threats into action, so far as Mrs. Besant is concerned, a definite cleavage would be created between

her and the Congress Party. All this, of course, sounds extraordinary enough to those who know the real state of Indian politics. But it is evidently what Lord Pentland, in his supreme ignorance of what is going on around him, has been led to believe. There is no doubt that those who organised, as well as those who dealt the blow at Mrs. Besant, supposed that they were discriminating between an Extremist and a Moderate movement, and that the adherents of the latter would stand aside when the blow was dealt. The Lucknow Session of the Congress, when Moderates and Extremists closed their ranks, had taught them nothing. But the answer has been clear and uncompromising. From all over the country have come first, the protests against Lord Pentland's preposterous speech to his Council *as an attack on the policy of the Congress,* and a definite stand of all Congressmen by the Home Rule League, through which the Congress was attacked; and, second, the storm of protests with which the Orders of Internment against Mrs. Besant and her lieutenants have been received. And protests have been speedily translated into action. Men like the Hon. Mr. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Hon. Mr. Chintamani, Mr. Jehangir Petit and others have hastened to define their attitude towards the policy of repression by announcing their memberships of the Home Rule League; non-official members of the Legislative Councils are considering the question of resigning their seats: a well-known merchant in Bombay gives a lakh of rupees to the Home Rule League; in Madras the requisition for to-day's meeting of protest has been signed by men of all shades of political opinion; resolutions of protest have come from such weighty bodies as the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association, of which Sir Dinsha Wacha is the President. Does the Government of Lord Pentland, do Lord Chelmsford and the Government of India realise now the force of opinion that is arrayed against them? It is not merely a troublesome old lady with a bee in her bonnett. It is the champion of a great movement, whose supporters, including the most weighty men in the country, have sprung to arms ready to stand by the cause and to fight the battle for freedom. We do not disguise the loss to the cause of Home Rule which the removal of Mrs. Besant involves; we do not ignore the immensity of the gap which is left by the deprivation of her organising genius, her guiding hand, her never-failing energy and indomitable courage, her inspiring leadership; but we cannot ignore the immense strength and impetus,

which has been given to the cause she led by the blow sought to be aimed at it through her. The cause not only lives but its pulses beat a hundred times faster to-day when, and because, she who gave it so much life, is placed in fetters by the ukase of Lord Pentland's Government.

Autocrats and Bureaucrats, we know, are always short-sighted. But the narrow vision and obtuseness which have produced the internment of Mrs. Besant and the effective suppression of all her activities by an arbitrary Executive order are almost incredible. Could the people of this country need a greater demonstration of the bankruptcy of the present system of Government in this country, and the urgent need of reforms which will make the Executive responsible to the people? What is the greatest test of the soundness and health of any form of Government? Surely that it should be able to face its most bitter critics, relying only on the ordered procedure of the Courts for the suppression of seditious libels. But what is to be said of a Government, which, if it thinks public safety is in danger, prefers not to take the critics and the protagonists of reform into Court, where the issue, whether they have over-stepped the bounds of legitimate criticism and lawful agitation, can be put to the test before a coldly impartial tribunal? What is to be said of a Government that misuses and abuses the powers which the Legislature has placed in the hands of the Executive for the protection of the Government against the enemies of the King as an emergency War measure, to intern without trial persons carrying on a lawful constitutional propaganda for the reform of the administration and the attainment by a people owning allegiance to the British Crown, of those political liberties which it has been the proud boast of Britain to confer on the peoples of her far-flung Dominions? This War, says the Prime Minister of England, in a message of congratulation to the Russian people on their overthrow of the Tsar and the Russian bureaucracy, is equally a war for popular liberties. Lords Chelmsford's and Pentland's comment on this is to flaunt British liberty by interning people who are agitating for popular government, without trial, and forbidding them to speak or write. They might as well be in Siberia!

We have come into the War, says Dr. Page, the American Ambassador to England, in effect, because it is a war for the triumph of Democracy, and for the establishment of Democracy's immortal creed—government set up by the governed. There is only one form

of Government, says Mr. Balfour in [illegible] speech to the Canadian people on the aims of the Allies in the War, namely, that "[illegible]." All thoughts of the early grant of Self-Government, says Lord Pentland in discordant comment, must be put entirely out of mind, and those who continue the agitation for it [illegible] the people will be suppressed.

In the House of Commons Mr. Bonar Law on Saturday announced the release without exception of the Irish rebel prisoners in order to ensure a [illegible] atmosphere at the Convention for Irish Home Rule. On the same day leading British subjects in India are interned and deprived of the most precious liberties a man can possess, not because they have rebelled or given comfort to the enemy, not because they have opposed the War, not because they have not loyally supported the War, nor for any military reason whatsoever, but because they have led a movement for the extension in practice of those principles of popular liberty to the people of India, whose loyal support of the Empire and service in the War undoubtedly saved the cause of the Allies at the supremely critical juncture and at every subsequent stage.

What again, is to be thought of a Governmental system, if it stands in need of administrators who, to preserve its safety, must flagrantly defy the principles laid down by their masters? There is only one answer—that a system of Government which has reached a stage, where it must rely for its safety on internment without trial and the suppression of speech and writing, is bankrupt, and stands in need of radical reform. The only remedy is to confer on the people of this country that liberty and control over their own affairs, which British statesmen have declared to be the right of every people; for which right they are waging the most stupendous War known to history. It rests with the men and women of India whether that issue is brought home to the people of England. We have no misgivings, despite temporary checks, of the ultimate outcome.

SELF-DETERMINATION!

WE can only describe the grounds advanced by the War Cabinet for stopping the Congress and Home Rule delegations to England as absolutely untenable and needlessely offensive to public opinion in this country in the manner in which they have been put forward. We regard the original decision as a blunder but the subsequent vacillation and bungling of the business and the provocative manner in which it has been concluded makes it difficult to discuss the matter with patience. If the War Cabinet believed that the sending of these delegations to England at the present time, an embarassment, they might have gone about the business of stopping them in a manner more dignified to themselves and less likely to exasperate the people of India. A courteous appeal to defer the deputations for the present might at least have been tried, instead of first a blunt order to cancel the passports and then a hectoring remonstrance which exhibits a woeful want of appreciation of the motive of the deputations and the spirit in which they were being sent, as well as an intolerant defiance of all the principles of political liberty for which the Government of Mr. Lloyd George is supposed to stand. We wonder whether Mr. Lloyd George or Mr. Barnes saw this telegram before it was despatched or whether it was not the sole handiwork of Lord Curzon. We decline to believe that it represents the considered views of the War Cabinet as a whole. Indeed, we have not the least doubt that if Mr. Lloyd George could be persuaded to divert his attention for a few moments from the direction of the war—which, of course, Heaven forefend!—he would receive a considerable shock. The Prime Minister is the champion of self-determination for all the little nations and subject peoples. But if we are to take this telegram from the India Office as representing his views he has a different standard for India. His Majesty's Government have expressed their "generous intentions"—in guarded language—and sent the Secretary of State to India and that should suffice. The people of India must take what it pleases their masters to give them. To advocate schemes of Home Rule of their own is "improper." You must not have schemes of your own in this Imperial conception of a self-determination, much less come to England, where the ultimate decision of your destiny lies, in the avowed role of agaitators in

plead your cause. You must not do this at any time. You might actually force the hands of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. To do what? To do that which you, the representatives of the Indian people, have persuaded the British democracy is the right thing to do, but which may be more than the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, in their infinite wisdom, intended to do. And that, you are to understand, would be "improper." Well it may be the War Cabinet's notion of impropriety, but, if it is, let us hear no more of this cant about self-determination. For this is not self-determination. It is dictation!

We imagine that people in this country might be willing to give way on the ground that agitation, at this supreme crisis, is not wanted in England. They might not be convinced. They might wonder why Lord Sydenham, who is an active, malignant and unscrupulous agitator against Self-Government for India was not to be interned or restrained in mere fairness. They might wonder why Chambers of Commerce all over Great Britain, who are assisting the Sydenham propaganda and making speeches against Self-Government for India, should not be invited to keep silence. They might wonder why, when the war was at another crisis, a colonial premier was permitted to stump the country with speeches that were highly embarrassing to the Imperial Government. They might wonder why Mr. Tilak and other delegates should not be trusted not to do anything embarrassing in England. But still, in their desire not to embarrass, or to be suspected of wanting to embarrass, they might acquiesce. But they are certainly not going to acquiesce in the assertion that it would be improper to agitate in England for Home Rule in India at any time, or to abandon their claim to be allowed to force the hands of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. Nor is Indian public opinion going to have this minatory sort of language thrown at it without giving the very frank reply—as we can claim to give—that it is not the language to encourage the loyalty to the Empire and the co-operation in the great struggle which they have been anxious to evince in the hope, if not the settled belief, that the principle of self-determination is to be a reality for them, as well for others.

We trust that the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu will make, if they have not already done so, a proper remonstrance against the whole spirit and argument of this extraordinary document, which not only carries in nearly every line a defiance of the generous policy of political liberty

for which the Prime Minister stands, but conveys a direct snub to Lord Chelmsford in its disavowal of the policy deliberately adopted by His Excellency in regard to these deputations. On February 6th, addressing the Imperial Council, the Viceroy said :

"I notice that it has been suggested that a deputation should go home and lay the case for the Congress League scheme before his Majesty's Government. The same intention may exist in other quarters. I think that at the right moment that is a course worthy of consideration, and I would not have it thought that there is any desire on the part of Government to hamper any such representations. On the contrary I will gladly give all the advice and all the help which it lies in my *power to give*."

To-day the War Cabinet tell us, after considering the question of passports for the Home Rule and Congress Delegates again, that "it is considered by his Majesty's Government that the journey on which these persons have embarked was uncalled for, and the purpose of it lacking in any sufficient justification. It was proposed by these persons at a period when the Secretary of State himself was in India, for the purpose of ascertaining the views of every section of the community, when his conclusions were still unknown and had not yet been submitted to his Majesty's Government, to come to England in the avowed role of agitators, to start an uncompromising propaganda in favour of a Home Rule of their own. *Such a proceeding at any time would be improper.*"

The passage is worthy of Lord Pentland. And it comes from the Government of which Mr. Lloyd George is the Prime Minister ! It cannot be taken as a serious expression of his considered view. Let us leave it at that, in the hope that the practical outcome of the "generous intentions" of his Majesty's Government will be of a character to take away the unpleasant taste that this business has left in the mouth and will be speedily made known.

IS IT FAIR ?

THE Viceroy in [illegible] reply to the [illegible] representation sent to him by the Hon. Mr. [illegible] deputation from [illegible] Colombo has courteously suggested that [illegible] of the deputation have been cancelled by the Government in England. The action taken, says his Excellency, [illegible] in view of the complete concentration of all public thought [illegible] on the prosecution of the war. The Viceroy will represent [illegible] the views [illegible] and that of the delegate accompanying [illegible]. [illegible] evident that the authorities in England have not [illegible] considered it necessary to inform the Government of India of their [illegible] in view of the fact that passports had already been granted by the Government of India, and in one case personally [illegible] by the Viceroy to the delegate as a member of the Imperial Council, is hardly astonishing. We can only say that, if this sort of [illegible] to continue, the passports of the Government of India will presently cease to have much more value than scraps of paper. Viceroys and Governments of this country may grant them, but petty Colonial administrations may refuse to honour them and supreme authorities in England may order them to be cancelled. In the latter case, as in the former, it is equally an affront to the Viceroy and the Government of India, which, apart from all political considerations, is noted by public opinion in this country and resented.

In the present instance, however, the interference by the Home authorities is especially to be resented and condemned for more than one reason. In the first place, the Government in England has announced its intention of propounding and passing into law a scheme of political reforms for India. We have not been told that the process of doing this or any stage of it is to be postponed until the distractions of the war have been removed. On the contrary, we have it on Cabinet authority that these things cannot wait for the war to run its weary course, but must be dealt with at once. The first stage, of cosultation with the Secratary of State, is over. The second stage, at which the curtains are necessarily drawn, that of incubation by the Viceroy and the Secratary of State, has been reached. The third stage, that of the production of Mr. Montagu's deliberately considered veiw of the form the scheme should take will short-

has resulted in over 2,500 cultivators taking a vow to refuse to pay the revenue and to suffer all consequences incurred thereby. Frankly, we wish that it had been possible to avoid the decision to hold a public meeting of such a character in the City at the present juncture. But the decision appears to us inevitable and the blame must lie with the Government, who have obstinately refused to take the very simple step required to remedy the situation. Every possible means of inducing the Government to revoke a decision which is against all ideas of justice and expediency in administration and which has gravely offended popular sentiment, and to hold an impartial enquiry into the grievances of the ryots has been tried in vain. Mr. Gandhi and other respected public leaders have waited upon Lord Willingdon and other members of the Administration and represented to them that the investigations carrid out by men of sound experience and undoubted integrity go to confirm the contentions of the cultivators that the official estimate of the crops is exaggerated, and that the condition is such as to justify a suspension of the collection of revenue, at least pending the enquiries of an impartial committee; and they have assured the Government that the decision of such an enquiry will be loyally accepted, whatever it may be. Lord Willingdon's reply has been to empower Mr. Pratt, the Commissioner, with a letter undertaking on his Excellency's part that every word Mr. Pratt utters and every decision he takes will be confirmed by Government. A more astounding and irresponsible act on the part of the head of an administration we have never heard of!

Two important principles in regard to the relations between the Government and the people have thereupon come into question. The first is whether, and if so at what point, the people are entitled to refuse to obey demands which they conscientiously believe to be unjust and oppressive. The second is whether the Government in this country is to be regarded in the light of a parent whose decisions must never be brought in question and its agents as autocrats *in loco parentis* with equal powers, each in his own sphere, of unquestioned autocracy and chastisement for disobedience. Not less astounding than the action of Lord Willingdon in investing Mr. Pratt with the power and authority of a petty Tsar is the use which that official has made of them in the speech which he delivered at Nadiad to a meeting of cultivators on the 12th inst. The speech is a challenge to every self-respecting citizen,—a challenge the answer to which will be re-echoed, we hope, all over the country.

The spirit and language of it are reminiscent of mediæval days and it is a complete contradiction of the policy of administration by discussion and co-operation which is supposed to represent the presnt stage of administrative development in this country and to which the Government is supposed to be pledged. The Government, says Mr. Pratt, is your father and your mother and for the purposes of this divisional area I am the Government! The Government fixes the revenue you shall pay for your lands and no power on earth has power to alter it. If you disobey me and do not pay your revenue, you shall be chastised, not in anger, but as a stern parent chastises his obedient child. And then he proceeds to an awful threat of perpetual excommunication. The words must be quoted :—

The lands of those who will not pay will be confiscated. Those who are contumacious will get no land in future. Government do not want their names on their Records of Rights. Those who go out shall never be admitted again.

The language and the spirit of this astounding utterance are so abominable that we have waited for nearly a week in the full expectation of hearing that they had been repudiated by Government. We do not know where Lord Willingdon is or how far he does approve, or would approve, of the use which this inflated egotist has thus made of the blank cheque given him, but, if the Government of Bombay is going to do nothing in the matter, we appeal to the Government of India to see that no time is lost in calling upon Mr. Pratt to withdraw and apologise for this gross libel on British Administration, which, whatever the mistakes and sins of omission and commission of its agents, is not inspired with a spirit of vindictiveness and vengeance breathing threats which only spiteful divinities can take upon themselves to carry out. It is impossible to argue with this sort of denunciatory mode of dealing with a dispute between the people and the administration. But it may be useful to remind Mr. Pratt of the proper place of himself and others. Lord Willingdon, he should understand, is the Governor of a Province, who is responsible to the British Parliament and is not invested with autocratic powers, much less with power to confer them on his subordinates. Mr. Pratt is an official who is paid a salary for carrying out certain administrative functions. He is not the *ma-bàp* of the people but their servant. It is his duty to see that the law is carried out, but it is also his duty, as it is the duty of Lord Willingdon and his colleagues, to see that the rules regarding revenue suspension are carried out.

in a spirit of generosity and consideration, according to the instructions of a superior authority,—which they are not doing at present. And when he tells members of the public that if they do this or that they shall go out and never be admitted to the Government roll of land-holders again, he is usurping an authority that does not belong to him, or to Lord Willingdon, or to any member or part of the Administration in this country, or even to Parliament, whose fiats of to-day may be revoked to-morrow. The statement is so preposterous that it has its farcical aspect, but, until Mr. Pratt has been repudiated and properly rebuked by Government, there is also a very tragic aspect, since it involves a challenge and a provocation to the public at a time when an appeal is being made to hush the voice of controversy. That cannot be done while Pratts stalk the land with blank cheques of this character.

As for the other principle, that is in question,—the right of passive resistance,—in view of the fact, that Mr. Gandhi is to make a public statement to-day we prefer to postpone a detailed discussion. Our readers are aware, however, of the view we have taken of the attitude and actions of the Government in this matter from the beginning and that we hold they have erred and very gravely erred. It is hardly likely therefore, that our symapathies would be withheld from the unfortunate people who, inspired by Mr. Gandhi's noble invocation to resist passively but firmly what their conscience tells them is wrong, are engaged in a struggle in which they have no weapons and stand to suffer devastating consequences. We have deliberately refrained from comment on this phase of the question, however, hitherto because certain steps were being taken to endeavour to persuade the Government to do the right thing, and there is an impression in certain quarters that the Government never do what they are advised to do by certain journals, an impression which, on good grounds, we do not, of course, share, but which we repeat on this occasion out of deference to that feeling until it has become certain there is nothing to be gained by sparing public remonstrance and criticism. It has become inevitable that the passive resisters of Kaira should have the assistance and support of the public in other parts of the country and that public agitation should now do what it can to rescue them from injustice and to remove the menace of autoprattism.

MABAPISM AND AUTO-PRATTISM.

A public meeting of the citizens of Bombay was held on the 23rd April 1918, at Shantaram's Chawl, Bombay with a view to hear a statement by Mr. M. K. Gandhi in regard to the present situation in Kaira, and the progress of the passive resistance movement inaugurated there and to express sympathy with the passive resisters. The meeting also condemned the attitude of Mr. Pratt, the Commissioner, N. D. The Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel presided, and there was a very large gathering. After Mr. Gandhi, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas and others had addressed the meeting, Mr. Horniman spoke as follows :—

AS Mr. Gandhi and Mrs. Naidu had told them the struggle in the Kaira District was not one of mere local interest but of national interest. It involved wide and vital issues. The particular matter with which the resolution he had to move dealt, was a matter which was the outcome of the struggle in the Kaira district, and which in itself raised wide, national and vital issues. If they were to pass by quietly—this monstrous pronouncement of Mr. Pratt,—they would cease to have any claim in India to demand the status of self-governing and self-respecting people. It was ironical and a strange phenomenon that at a time when people were demanding everywhere the establishment of the principles of self-determination, and fighting for the destruction and abolition of autocracy and bureaucratic tyranny, they found a new menace appearing on the horizon, which was something worse than the menace of the bureaucrat, worse than that of the autocrat but which they would have to call by the name of the auto-Pratt. (Loud laughter and cheers.)

CLAIM TO DIVINE POWERS.

Mr. Pratt was not content merely with the powers of an autocrat; he was not content merely with the powers of a bureaucrat, even when re-inforced by a most extra-ordinary letter from Lord Willingdon giving him *carte blanche* and support in whatever he did or said. Mr. Pratt was not content with all that. He wanted to assume to himself powers which they could only call divine. He was not content with saying that he would confiscate the people's land, but he added that they would

never be allowed to come back, neither they nor their wives nor their children. He would like to ask by what possible distorted conception of duty Mr. Pratt could say that he would not only exclude the ryots now, but they and their children for ever. They must tell Mr. Pratt, that although he might be the Commissioner now, a Mr. Flatt, or a Mr. Matt might succeed him to-morrow and change his decision and there was the British Parliament itself in England to whom even Lord Willingdon, to say nothing of Mr. Pratt, would have to be responsible for his actions and no House of Commons and not even the House of Lords, would allow an official to claim to exercise powers or to claim that Government could exercise powers which had never been claimed in written word on this earth except by the tribal God of the Hebrews (Cheers and laughter.) What was it that Mr. Pratt claimed for himself? That his word, his opinion was absolutely inviolable and there could be no appeal from it. Even the Pope of Rome hardly claimed such infallibility.

THEORY of "MA-BAPISM."

He knew there was a theory of "Ma-Bapism" in connection with Government, in this country. But Mr. Pratt did not understand its ethics. It only applied as long as the people thought that the Government were their "Ma-Bap." Mr. Pratt could not constitute himself "Ma-Bap" by thinking himself to be "Ma-Bap." If a man came to him (the speaker) and said "You are my father and my mother and you can do everything for me," he might not be inclined to contradict him. But if a man came with a big stick and said "I am *Your* father and your mother and if you don't do as I tell you I shall thrash you," he would hotly contest the position (Laughter.) That was the difference Mr. Pratt must learn to understand—that the Government was and could only be the "Ma-Bap" of the people by their consent and could not be made so by threats and chastisement (Loud Cheers.) They were not going to accept Mr. Pratt's theory of the Government being their "Ma-Bap." The Government could only be "Ma-Bap," so long as they respected the sentiments and wishes of the people.

SWAN-SONG OF TYRANNY.

The whole country must take up this challenge seriously, but paradoxical as it might seem he would ask them not to be unduly alarmed by the appearance of this new disease of [illegible]. When

the swan was dying it sang in the last moments of life with a vitality and intensity it had never known before. Bureaucracy was dying in India. It was heaving its last moments and Mr. Pratt's ecstatic claim to divine powers was evidently the swan song of bureaucratic tyranny. (Loud cheers and laughter.)

THE RIGHTS OF PUBLIC CRITICISM.

AFTER a litigation extending over a period of nearly twenty months, the libel suit brought by Mr. Surajmal B. Mehta, a Solicitor of the Bombay High Court, against this journal for alleged libel, reached its termination,—as far as the courts in this country are concerned at any rate,—on Monday. The Special Appellate Bench, consisting of Justices Batchelor, Beaman and Marten, delivered separate judgments concurring that the suit should be dismissed and the plaintiff ordered to pay the defendant's costs throughout. The decision is one which must be welcomed by all who are honestly concerned for the preservation of the rights of public criticism unimpaired and for the propriety of professional conduct in the legal profession. It will be remembered that in the court of first instance Mr. Justice MacLeod found for the plaintiff and awarded him Rs. 3,000 damages, delivering a judgment which constituted a grave reflection on the character of the journal which published the articles and the professional reputation of the writer of them. In the first court of appeal, however, the Chief Justice held that the articles were fair comment on facts which had been stated with substantial accuracy and his view prevailed over that of Mr. Justice Heaton, who differed from him and upheld the decision of the lower court. The defendant, however, was deprived of his costs. The court of final appeal has now confirmed the decision of the Chief Justice, but reversed the order as to costs. We never had any doubt ourselves, as to the final outcome of this litigation, but the satisfaction which we feel in this vindication is enhanced by the unequivocal character of the three judgments which were delivered on Monday, brushing aside all the irrelevant matters which were allowed to obscure

the proper issues in the lower court and dealing with the law and facts of the case with that calm judicial detachment and impartiality which is the high attribute of British justice; contrasting strongly, we are bound to add, with the misdirected zeal which inspired the denunciation of the author of these articles by Mr. Justice MacLeod.

It is only necessary briefly to recall the facts of the case on which the impugned articles commented and the nature of the criticism which they contained to realise the gravity of the consequences to the public interest that would have ensued had Mr. Justice MacLeod's decision been upheld. Here was a suit in which a Solicitor of the High Court was the object of grave allegations of professional misconduct and dishonesty. The charges made against him were actually part of the issues in the suit, the plaintiff in which was alleged to be his tool and nominee. After two witnesses for the plaintiff had hopelessly broken down and this solicitor, as Mr. Justice Batchelor said, had cut a "pitiable figure" in the witness box, the plaintiff abandons the suit and consents to a decree for the defendant on all the issues. The solicitor is standing in the witness box at the time. He makes no protest, he makes no appeal to be allowed an opportunity to clear his character before the record is closed and takes no step whatever in that respect until a newspaper has published two articles, one a week after the other, drawing attention to the gravity of the allegations against him and urging the need for some further enquiry into the matter by the proper authorities. When he goes into court under these circumstances to clear his character and explain his conduct, he pleads that his damaging answers in the witness box were due to court fright and adds that he was "quite unconcerned" when the suit in question terminated leaving him in this compromising position. In the face of this the judge treats him as an injured innocent who has been gravely maligned by a reckless journalist, remarks in the course of the hearing that he attaches no importance to the fact that when this man was asked whether he did a most dishonourable thing, he said he could not remember whether he did it or not, and accepts his counsel's contention that there was no impropriety in his failure to ask there and then, in open court, at the time the incident of the sudden abandonment of the case occurred,—as any honest man should have done,—for an opportunity to clear his character. We confess we are entirely at a loss to understand how a judge of Mr. MacLeod's

well-known abilities, legal acumen and jealousy for the proprieties of professional conduct could have gone so grievously astray and displayed so much zeal in penalising a journalist who had performed the public duty of criticising such conduct and urging it upon the attention of the authorities with a view to further investigation. Less than this, it is difficult to understand how any judge could have held that an honest man with a clear conscience could make such an answer as that he did not remember whether he did a dishonourable act or not without laying himself open to the gravest suspicion and severe reflection. A very different view of the matter was taken by the Chief Justice and the three judges of the special bench and so much is gained in the public interest that the standard of propriety in the legal profession in Bombay is not to be allowed to remain at the low level at which it was left by the decision of Mr. Justice MacLeod.

For the rest, we must be gratified that legitimate freedom of criticism is restored to its proper limits by the decision of the two courts of appeal. Two very important points were rescued from the misunderstanding to which they were subjected in the lower court. The first was that the defendant was under no obligation to prove the truth of the facts which formed the material on which the articles were based, so far as they consisted of matters which were revealed in court during the hearing of the suit in question and formed part of the record in that suit. It did not matter, so far as his comment was concerned, whether the plaintiff ultimately disproved any or all of them or not; they might all have been untrue but they were in evidence at the time, and so long as the critic's comment was fair comment in that the inferences drawn by him from them were reasonable and proper inferences, he was entitled to use them. Secondly, a journalist ought not to be penalised for minor inaccuracies which bear the impress of honest mistakes and do not materially affect the main issues with which he is dealing. That is not only the law as laid down very clearly in the authoritative decisions of the English courts but it is sound commonsense. In this case, however, in the lower court such trifling and immaterial inaccuracies were seized upon, torn from their context and made the foundation of a tremendous phillipic against the author of the articles. In the App[illegible] Court these matters fortunately have been treated in their proper [illegible]pective. The law and sense of these two poin[illegible] have been adm[illegible]

dealt with equally in the telling judgment of Mr. Justice Batchelor, the brief but well expressed judgment of Mr. Justice Marten and the masterly and exhaustive analysis of the law of libel and the facts of the case contained in the judgment of Mr. Justice Beaman. There are other points in connection with this important case with which we shall have to deal on a future occasion.

BUREAUCRATIC DISPLEASURE.

DR. Mann could have had little thought of the condign punishment that would fall upon him for his rashness when he sanctioned the invitation of his students to Mr. Horniman to address them on the occasion of their annual gathering. He has apparently earned thereby the dire displeasure of Sir Claude Hill. That eminent member of the bureaucracy, who, under the "antediluvian" system with which this country is at present inflicted, has the good fortune to be our Minister for Agriculture, a post he could never have attained under any form of popular government, went to Poona to preside over the annual meeting of the Board of Agriculture. In this capacity he had prepared a speech—a dull platitudinous affair that filled several columns of our morning contemporary, but to which ordinarily we should not give a line of space,—a copy of which has come into our hands as finally corrected by Sir Claude himself. We find that in the original it contained at the end a glowing tribute to Dr. Harold Mann. Sir Claude Hill, as our readers are aware, knows how "to lay it on,"—two whole pages of the speech are filled with a fulsome eulogy of Lord Willingdon, whose well-known modesty must have shivered under the onslaught,—and he had not spared his praise of Dr. Mann. Such praise was rightly bestowed and nobody, who knows anything of the great work Dr. Mann has been and is doing, would grudge it. For that very reason one feels that it should be dragged into the light of day, which it has not yet seen. For, after the speech was printed. Sir Claude Hill came to know of the grave offence of Dr. Mann in proposing to allow Mr. Horniman to lecture to his students, so he took his pen, scored out the eulogy of Dr. Mann

from the speech, and never uttered it. Since, it seems to a reasonable person, that Dr. Mann cannot have become less "extraordinarily energetic" or less "personally capable" or be less worthy of recognition for his achievements, because he is too liberal and open-minded for Sir Claude Hill's narrow outlook, we reproduce the excised passage in full. It runs as follows :—

"A special measure of thanks is due from us to Dr. Harold Mann, who, I know, is arranging to facilitate our visit to the Agricultural College, which, though at present partly occupied as a hospital, is nevertheless the most complete and advanced institution of its kind in India. That it has reached such a stage is, we shall all admit, due to Dr. Harold Mann's extraordinarily energetic and capable personality. I know, perhaps, better than most, the extraordinary difficulties which confronted Dr. Mann at the outset in connection with the college and can assure you that no one else could have overcome them in the short space in which he succeeded in doing so. I invite all those members of the Board, who have not hitherto had the opportunity, to ask Dr. Mann, not only to show them over the College building but to explain to them the methods he has adopted for bringing his institution into the forefront of such institutions in India."

For once in a way we cordially agree—with what Sir Claude Hill was going to say, as we deeply pity the petty spirit which prevented him from saying it. Dr. Mann has fallen from grace,—in the estimation of this eminent ornament of the Bureaucracy and has had, what no doubt the latter regards as a sharp lesson in regard to the penalties of not observing the rules of conduct laid down by him and his friends. But that won't affect the high estimation in which he is held by the public.

HOME RULE DEPUTATION.

A CROWDED meeting was held on Saturday at 6-30 p. m. at the Morarji Goculdas Hall, Cavel Street, under the presidency of Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas to give a hearty send-off to Mr. Syud Hossain and Mr. Iqbal Narain Gurtu, the Home Rule delegates proceeding to England.

Mr. Horniman said he need not assure those present what a great honour he felt had been conferred upon him in having been asked to take the first place in wishing a farewell to their friends who were going to England on behalf of the great cause of Home Rule for India. Mr. Syud Hossain (applause) was so well-known personally to them in Bombay and Mr. Gurtu by repute, that those present had no doubt that in selecting these two gentlemen they had selected two men who would adequately fulfil the mission with which they were entrusted; and it would, therefore, be superfluous to dwell upon their fitness for the mission on which they were starting. But they felt none the less that they wanted Mr. Syud Hossain and Mr. Gurtu to leave Bombay thoroughly acquainted with the confidence the people had in them, because then they would have the fullest confidence in themselves. Mrs. Besant had, the day before, put in very definite terms what was expected of the delegates and uttered sentiments with which they were in the fullest agreement. The gist of what Mrs. Besant said, was that they wanted the delegates to advocate Home Rule, and that they wanted them to put the issue plainly and straightly before the British democracy that India was determined to get Home Rule and that India would not rest until she got it. They did not want to compromise, and they would not follow in the trail of those well-meaning gentlemen who were always assuring them that if they did this or did that they would frighten the Tory party or some Tory members of the Cabinet and get nothing at all. Their reply to that was that they did not care a bit whom they frightened so long as it was thoroughly understood that they wanted Home Rule and meant to get Home Rule (cheers) and that if they did not get what they wanted they would not have anything and would then continue their agitation. That was the mission on which the delegates were going to England on their behalf and they were confident that the delegates would stick to that simple, straight issue and boldly state it before the British public.

Indifference of British Public to India.

Continuing, Mr. Horniman said he had for some time past been wondering as to what sort of opposition the delegates would have to encounter when they got to England. In the first place it might fairly and safely be said that it was not so much the opposition that they would have to encounter that was of great importance as that appalling indifference of the British public in the fulfilment of their duty towards

India. He did not believe for a moment that once the British democracy was made thoroughly aware of the position of affairs in this country and that India wanted to be an equal partner in the British Empire —if the British democracy was made to understand that—he did not think they would hesitate to grant that right so justly demanded. What they had had to fight all these years was the difficulty of arousing the English public who were so much taken up with questions of vital importance to themselves that they found it difficult to take a just, real, proper and equitable interest in the people whose destinies were committed to their charge. But they had reached a crisis in the affairs of the world when the responsibility of the great country of England towards the great dependency of India was more likely to be realised than ever before, and it was this fact that they had reached that crisis in the world's history, which gave him the greatest hope at the present moment that, by sending their delegates to educate the British public as to what India ought to have they would be able to achieve in a short time at any rate the first substantial step—and when he said the first substantial step he meant something that established self-government—the first substantial step towards the ultimate goal of full political freedom (cheers). That was one difficulty that their friends would have to contend with in England. Then, of course, there would be opposition and it would come from certain well-known quarters as before.

Political Somersaults.

But they knew that during the last three years the imperialist point of view had very much changed and there had been so serious a diminution in the opposition he had referred to that it had reached almost the vanishing point and even men like Lord Curzon and Lord Milner, had been much converted by the events of the last three years and Lord Curzon had turned almost a complete political somersault. And those present there that evening hoped that the delegates would see that that somersault was imitated by a very large number of people representing imperialistic views.

British Commercial Interests.

The third kind of opposition that the delegates would have to contend with in England would be conducted by every sort of bitterness by that band of people in England such as the Indo-European As-

tion, who were in league with the reactionaries in this country to prevent Indians getting their just rights. He had been reading the speeches made at a recent meeting of the European Association of Calcutta with great interest with a view to find out what possible line of action they intended to follow in England. He had thought that perhaps they would come to meet them half-way and that they had learnt some lesson from the experience of the past few months and were sensible of the wisdom of realising that they would not be able to make any headway in their fight unless they modified their attitude even to a little extent. He, however, discovered that instead of modifying their attitude they were taking up an absolutely reactionary attitude, saying that the masses of India, who knew nothing of politics, desired a continuance of the supremacy of British merchants. The greatest stress was laid at the meeting on the fact that British merchants had invested their capital in India because they trusted Government to maintain the present form of Government, that was to say the supremacy of British commercial interests. He did not think an argument of that kind was going to cut much ice with the British public at the present time. His impression was that whatever these people who were like resuscitated fossils of a prehistoric age, repeating political formulæ that was as extinct as the dodo might say and howsoever they might froth and fume and strut the platform their friends in England would not be so foolish as to put their views in that form in England. He thought they in England would take up a different line of action and make a sort of flank movement and say that the delegates did not represent anybody but a selfish clique of men who had no connection with the masses in India. It was therefore important that the Bombay Branch of the Home Rule League, with a membership of over 50,000 people in this Presidency, should express their unanimous confidence in the delegates, as emphatically as they could, by the manner of their reception and by their presence there, and show that the delegates had every qualification and every right to represent the people of this country in the mission they were starting upon.

HIS "OLDEST FRIEND IN INDIA."

Continuing, Mr. Horniman said the absence even for a short time of Mr. Syud Hossain was for him a great personal wrench. There were several reasons for that, the first of which was that Mr. Syud Hossain

was his oldest friend in India. He might have said that about ten years ago he discovered Mr. Syud Hossain, but as that claim had already been put forward from another quarter, he would desist from making that claim himself, and would say it was Mr. Syud Hossain who discovered him about ten years ago. (Laughter and cheers). And though for long they separated, one having gone to another country than his own and the other also being in another country than his own, they had been together for the last fifteen months in Bombay, and during that time his respect for Mr. Hossain as a politician, as a publicist, and as a fearless, honest and straightforward fighter (applause), had continually increased. But more than that they had been associated together in connection with a certain public institution which he would not specifically name (laughter), and Mr. Hossain had been to him a colleague of more value than he could adequately describe. His loyalty and devotion to him in all times of stress and in every description of trouble—and trouble of a kind which did not ordinarily fall on journalists, was beyond his power to express. He had been as devoted and loyal a colleague as any man could possibly expect to have. He was sure that all were undergoing a personal sacrifice in allowing Mr. Syud Hossain to go to England, for during his absence they would not have the ecstatic delight of listening to Mr. Syud Hossain, when he belaboured his opponents with his rhetoric; but they did so with all good will and real pleasure in another sense, because they knew him so well that they were sure they were sending the right man to England, (Loud cheers.) The speaker next referred to Mr. Gurtu's qualifications, and concluded by saying that Mr. Syud Hossain and Mr. Gurtu would be second to none in their devotion to duty and in their determination to do what they were asking them do *viz.*, to put the plain and straightforward issue of Home Rule before the British democracy. (Loud cheers).

THE BOMBAY RENT BILL.

A public meeting was held at the Excelsior Theatre, Bombay, on March 12, 1918, to support the Rent Bill to be introduced in the Bombay Legislative Council. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar presided, and there was a large attendance. Mr. Horniman moved the principal resoultion of the evening :—" That this Public Meeting cordially welcomes the proposals outlined in the Rent Bill, and prays that the Bill may speedily be passed into law substantially as it stands, and that no modifications may be introduced which would affect the scope and character of the measure ; that a copy of the Resolution be forwarded to H. E. the Governor-in-Council."

HE said that so far as that audience was concerned it was not necessary to enter in very great detail into the justification of the resolution, which he had to propose : but there were people outside the Theatre upon whom they had to impress the urgent need of passing such a measure. Even the landlords could not deny, that rents had been going up in this city beyond all reason and in many cases beyond all capacity of the ordinary tenant to bear the increase. He was going to put before them just a few figures in that respect because he had no time to give them full statistics. In the course of investigation that he had been making in the matter a vast number of statistics had been placed before him, including the personal statements of many tenants, not only in regard to this or that landlord, not only in regard to small or large tenements but in every class of dwelling house. In every class the tendency existed to take advantage of the economic conditions brought about by the war to bleed the helpless tenants. The Municipal Reform Association had prepared a statement, which they had placed before Government, and which contained valuable information. That statement showed the manner in which a certain class of landlords had taken advantage of the economic conditions prevailing to sqeeze the tenants. He admitted there was room for differentiation between those who had taken a reasonable advantage and those who had indulged in sheer and downright profiteering, and he spoke of the latter. The speaker then gave figures of cases of increases in rents by some of the landlords in Bombay. In one case the rental was Rs. 175 in 1917, and in 1918 it was Rs. 700. In another

case it was Rs 6 in 1916 and 41 in 1918. Again it was Rs. 9 in 1916 and Rs. 22 in 1918 ; Rs. 7 in 1916 and Rs. 30 in 1918. These were figures from authentic documents containing a large number of cases of this kind and there was not a single instance in which the increase was less than 40 per cent. (Shame.) In view of these facts and in view of what was within their knowlodge—what was a matter of common knowledge—it was unnecessary for him to say anything more in justification of the need of a Bill of such a character. The speaker then dealt with the Bill in detail and said he had read and listened to most of the criticisms that had been directed against the Bill in the Bombay Corporation, and by the letters addressed to the Press, and he could not say, with the best of his will to do justice to the landlords, that there was a single landlord in Bombay who was going to suffer any injustice by the Bill.

Nothing for Honest Landlords to Fear.

Mr. Horniman proceeding, next described the character of the Bill.—what it proposed to do. It fixed a Standard Rent which was to be the rent obtaining on January 1st, 1915, with ten per cent. added. It did not apply to rents accruing before September 30, 1917, and it allowed an increase of ten per cent. for structural alterations or improvements. He could not for the life of him see what any honest landlord had to fear from such a measure as that—(Loud cheers). Proceeding to deal with the landlord's criticisms of the Bill the speaker referred to the Corporation Committee's report and dealt in detail with Dr. Sukhia's minute which, he took as the most elaborate defence that had been put forward on behalf of the landlords. Dr. Sukhia had put up a barrage of widows to obscure the issue (Laughter.) Dr. Sukhia had tried to create an impression that the Bill was an attack on poor widows (Laughter.) They always noticed that whenever vested interests were in danger, or whenever the so-called sacred rights of property were to be attacked because the persons in whom those sacred rights were reposed were abusing them and taking advantage of the community, they always put up poor widows or some humble class of people whom they alleged would be the real sufferers. (Laughter). Now, they all had the greatest sympathy with poor widows. But he would say this. Dr. Sukhia's poor widow with a rental of Rs. 25 or Rs. 30 a month, who knew what it was to be poor and could sympathise with the poor, was the last

person in the world who would want to bleed the poor tenant (Loud cheers). Dr. Sukhia had said there were 824 of these widows out of 16 or 17 thousand property owners in the city, but the speaker would like to know how many of these widows were not poor, but well-to-do ladies who left the management of their property to solicitors or agents who had no remorse in the extent to which they increased rents (Cheers). But apart from all that whatever the misfortunes of the poor widow, they were no excuse for allowing her to extort extravagant rents from the poor tenants (Cheers.) Dr. Sukhia had submitted elaborate statistics in which the speaker had no confidence. Because he never had confidence in statistics which were put forward to bolster up such cases. But he would deal with them. He (Dr. Sukhia) said that whereas rental values had increased 5 per cent. in some period before the war, they had only increased 3 per cent. during the war. Well, he would give some other figures which had been given him since he entered that Theatre. In 1900, one rupee of the property tax in the City of Bombay produced Rs. 250,000 while in 1918 one rupee of the property tax produced Rs. 6,25,000 representing a 125 per cent. increase of the rental value of properties. These figures were an effective answer to Dr. Sukhia's figures.

Reasons Against Amending the Bill.

Continuing the speaker referred to landlords and their responsibilities and the reasons why the Bill should not be modified either in principle or in detail and should be made applicable to every class of landlords and every class of buildings. The speaker said he had heard an assertion that this Bill would unfairly injure landlords who were the economic pillars of the city (Laughter). It reminded him of an aphorism of Montesquieu who said that financiers supported the State as the cord supports the man who is hanged. (Laughter). The landlords here were supporting the city in the same way that the cord supported the man who was hanged (Laughter). In this case the general public, the tenants were the people at the end of the cord and if things were allowed to go on they would hang the tenant altogether and nothing would be left of him; and unless Government stepped in and cut the cord a serious economic disaster would be the result (Cheers). As to the suggestion to limit the operation of the law to buildings fetching rents of Rs. 50 and under or any such limitation it would not be fair because it would be

an injustice to those landlords whose property fetched rentals of Rs. 50 and under to let the richer landlords go free. Such an exception would leave out a large class, including joint families as also people who took boarders or shared flats, who might pay a rent of over Rs. 50 but whose actual individual rent came to much less than that. The poor struggling middle classes should be relieved and it would be imposing a great hardship on that class of people if the Bill were made applicable only to buildings fetching a rental of Rs. 50 and under (Cheers). Apart from that the attempts to put up rents to an abnormal extent was an economic danger to the community and if they made exceptions they were evading the duty which was imposed on the State to see that the general economic situation was not disturbed more than was absolutely unavoidable. It was the duty of the State to keep in view the whole economic situation and not to make exceptions in this respect or that. There was no justification for leaving the landlord of large rentals out of the Bill merely because well-to-do tenants would thus be the ones to be bled. That was not the business of the State. It would also be unfair and injurious to the community at large to exempt business premises from the operation of the law because they played a large part in the economic life of the city and it would be indirectly helping to raise the level of prices of foodstuffs and other commodities and to disturb economic conditions, if they exempted business premises from the operation of the law. The Bill should be allowed to go through the Legislative Council in its present form and he would assure Honourable members of the Legislative Council that if they allowed the provisions of the Bill to be modified they would be regarded as having betrayed the trust reposed in them (prolonged cheers.)

THE INTERNED MUSLIM LEADERS.

A Public meeting was held in Bombay on October 3, 1917, to protest against the non-release of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali. The following is the text of Mr. Horniman's speech in moving the resolution.

MR. Horniman said he was very grateful, for the opportunity to support the resolution, which he would do in a very few words, as had it not been his duty to come there at all costs as a friend of Mr.

Mahomed Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali, he would have been unable to attend the meeting. Knowing Mahomed Ali and his brother as he did, he could not believe the statement that they were likely to express or promote sympathy with the King's enemies. He would sooner be dead than stand on any platform and support any one who encouraged the King's enemies. But he knew that it was not true of his two friends. They had absolutely no other proof than the mere statement of Sir W. Vincent. The public were entitled to know what evidence the Government had, on which to base such a statement. They had the statement of that brave old lady, the mother of these two gentlemen, of the whole negotiations that took place between the Government and the two brothers. They had not a single word from the Government to justify the insinuation that in making that statement, inspired as it obviously was by sincerity and loyalty, that lady was acting a hypocrisy and a lie. What was there in the undertaking offered by Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, which should prevent the Government from accepting it? It was an honest and loyal undertaking. Were they not entitled to say that anything they undertook was without prejudice to Islam? Islam was not the King's enemies. And in view of the intrigue that had been on foot to transfer the Caliphate, which would be a breach of the Queen's proclamation, they were justified in protecting their spiritual allegiance, which the King-Emperor had promised to respect. As honest gentlemen they had given an undertaking which was in consonance with their conscience. So long as the grounds on which the statement of Sir William Vincent were based, were not openly laid before the public, so long would they, the friends and admirers of Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, refuse to believe in the allegation that was made against them. (Cheers.)

He then moved the following resolution:—

That this meeting of the Citizens of Bombay held under the auspices of the Bombay branches of the Home Rule Leagues, has learnt with regret of the decision of the Government of India not to release Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali and having regard to the published draft of the undertaking proposed to be given by Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, this meeting is unable to understand on what grounds the statement of Sir William Vincent that they "freely expressed and promoted sympathy with the King's enemies" and that "the Government of India are not satisfied that their atti-

tude has materially changed in this respect" is based; and this meeting earnestly believing that nothing was ever further from their minds than "to express and promote sympathy with King's enemies," earnestly urges his Excellency the Viceroy and the Government of India to reconsider the matter, with a view to order their release, by which act Mahomedan sentiment will be appeased and the peaceful and conciliatory atmosphere for which his Excellency the Viceroy has pleaded at this juncture and which all sections of the Indian community desire will be wholly assured.

There were no differences now between the two communities of Mahomedans and Hindus. (Cheers.)

CLEARING THE AIR.

THE debate on Lord Sydenham's motion in the House of Lords is by no means unsatisfactory from the Indian point of view. It is evident that Lord Sydenham and his party found no more substantial support for their attempt to discredit the Secretary of State and to obstruct the movement towards reform in India than they found in the House of Commons, where even the faithful Sir John Rees has deserted the champions of bureaucratic reaction. They are welcome to all the support of the Lansdownes, the Lamingtons and the Midletons. One no more expects these back-numbers in the world of politics to come into line with the liberal tendencies of the day than the Tory organs of the Press that have been so profusely quoted during the past few days. Our only concern in regard to any of the critics of the present policy of the Government both here and in England is to consider whom and what they represent, and so far as those who supported Lord Sydenham in his attack are concerned there is no reason to suppose that they represent any solid body of opinion in the United Kingdom, but merely the interests of class and officialism. Their psychology is distinctly Prussian, — their attitude towards India and Ireland is that of the Prussian junker towards Poland, —and the days of Prussianism, whether in Germany or elsewhere, are over and can never return. Their whole position is based on the idea of

the necessity, in their view, of keeping India politically subject, to a form of foreign government in which their Imperialistic notions shall prevail over the principles and traditions of political liberty accepted by the British democracy who are at present the real arbiters of India's destiny.

The chief interest of the debate, however, lies not in the useless wailings of the chauvinist Imperialists, but in the revealing speech of Lord Islington, who quite frankly described the realisation by the Government of India of the gravity of the position that would arise in this country unless the people were assured of an honest and practical intention on the part of the Government to reform and liberalise the whole machinery of the administration. Lord Islington admits the need for "a great constitutional change." Lord Hardinge was impressed, he says, with the need for important political changes and only thought the discussion of them might be deferred till the war was over, because like most other people he had not anticipated that the war would last so long. Lord Chelmsford was impressed with the gravity of the situation and the Government of India had long impressed the Home Government with the urgency of the reforms. The difference made by Mr. Montagu's advent to the India Office appears to be that he realised the necessity for dealing at once with the situation which his predecessor was treating in a characteristically dilatory fashion. For some time before the decision of the Cabinet, which resulted in the declaration of policy made by the Government on August 20th, the Government of India had repeatedly telegraphed to the India Office that the agitation was increasing and would increase in the absence of such a declaration and that "the situation was becoming graver and graver." These admissions will no doubt stir the bile of the reactionaries, who continue to prate about the hollow agitation of a few malcontents of the educated classes, but it is right that they should have been made and it does the Government credit that they made. The true situation ought not to be concealed from the British public and Lord Islington's frank and impressive statement will, we trust, completely discredit the mischievous attempts of Lord Sydenham and his friends to misrepresent the situation and the agitation for self-government as being confined to a few discontented political leaders. It would be as well if these people were to realise at once what little purpose is to be served, even from their own point of view,

by continuing a futile campaign against Mr. Montagu, who we now know, on the authority of the Viceroy himself, did not order Mrs. Besant's release, which was the considered action of the Government of India on a realisation of the disastrous situation which that blunder had produced. The settling of the destiny of the people of this country does not lie in the hands either of the retired satraps or the merchant princes of Bombay and Calcutta. It will be settled by the British democracy on broad and fundamental principles of liberty and human justice, which have no relation to the protection of anybody's invested capital or any other selfish class interest. It is no good attempting to kick against the pricks and it would be more sensible, if, instead of indulging in wild charges against the King's ministers and venomous attacks on the leaders of the Indian people, the self-appointed representatives of "European" opinion in India were to make the best of a prospect which nothing they can say or do is likely to avert or alter.

While the attitude of the Government, both in England and in India, as revealed by Lord Islington, exhibits a sound appreciation of a state of feeling in this country which has to be reasonably dealt with, we have no desire to be meticulously quarrelsome regarding past blunders and continuing misapprehensions. But it is necessary to point out, in view of Lord Islington's insistence on the allegation that Mrs. Besant had pursued violent and unconstitutional methods, that no case has ever been made out to support this allegation. It remains a mere allegation, a bare assertion, and is, in the opinion of responsible people in this country, so far removed from the truth that it is not surprising that, as Lord Islington said, it was taken as an attempt to suppress free discussion of self-government. Lord Islington referred to this as a mistaken impression. We do not think he can have considered all the facts. Has he read Lord Pentland's speech demanding that all thoughts of self-government should be put entirely out of mind? Has he seen the confidential circular issued in March last to all provincial governments, which was the direct cause of that speech, and which undoubtedly aimed at the suppression of the Home Rule agitation? In face of the fact that Mrs. Besant's internment followed directly on these things, we cannot be persuaded that this was a mistaken impression and that there was no attempt to interfere with the free discussion of self-government. We are still convinced that such an attempt was made, on the advice and at

the instance of a sinister figure in the councils of the Government of India who, fortunately, is no longer there to advise. Saner counsels have since prevailed. Lord Chelmsford and his present advisers have read the situation more correctly and taken up a position of statesmanship which augurs well for the settlement of the problems which confront them on lines which will satisfy for the present the ever-growing demand of Indians for the control of their own affairs.

REALITY OR SHAM !

DURING the past few weeks constitution-making, already a busy industry in this country, has been in progress among all sections of society at an almost feverish pace, and none have been so active as those who have hitherto affected to despise politics, those who have been apparently totally indifferent to the political future of the country and those who have strenuously denied the need for a constiution or any sort of political reform whatsoever. All this is to the good. Anything that stimulates discussion and extends the bounds of criticism or provides fresh food for thought must tend to assist the problem upon which Government and people are at present jointly engaged. Such extension of criticism and suggestion is especially helpful to those who, like ourselves, have always held and advocated that, nothing short of a complete and radical reform of the existing system, involving a definite transfer of control from the bureaucracy to the people, can satisfy the needs of the time and the aspirations of the people or constitute a full measure of justice. It enables us, especially in the case of those who are opposed to any such change, to appreciate the full value of those apparent weaknesses which are plausibly used in an attempt to throw dust in the eyes of the people who will ultimately mould the new Indian constitution, to draw red herrings accross the path and generally to confuse the real issue, which must be kept clear and unobscured. And the true issue is, whether the people of this country are to have their political freedom, whether the great principle of democratic control for which Great Britain stands the sponsor before the world, is to be in the case of India a reality or a sham.

people.

In this connection we confess

the Maharaja of Burdwan, Sir K.

Mr. S. R. Das (we do not belie

Associated Press telegram, is

have put their names to such

been drawn up in Calcutta

with the assistance of such eminent friends of reform as Sir Archie Birkmyre and Sir Hugh Bray. None of the Indian gentlemen who have signed this "scheme," of course, are in any way accepted leaders of political thought in this country, but at least they have been regarded. hitherto, as men of common sense and as being concerned for some sort of genuine reform. Such an amazing system as they have been induced to further, is no reform at all, except in the literal sense of the word. It pre-supposes such a state of incapacity and childishness among the classes, as well as the masses, of the country as to constitute an unadulterated insult to the Indian people. That Mr. Lionel Curtis, who seems to be entirely devoid of any sense of the reality of things, should amuse himself by attempting to reduce the problems of self-government to a sort of academical entertainment and produce schemes for the establishment of an amphibious government with its legs in the waters of bureaucratic control and its arms in the free air of legislative responsibility, may be saddening as a spectacle but it is comprehensible to those who have observed his limitations and realised that he is an incorrigible egotist who is more interested in his own inventions than real human factors; that he should have found a number of European gentlemen who are mere children in politics and only concerned to save, as they think, their vested interests and protect their privileges, to join him and accept his guidance is easily understood; that a few Bengal zamindars trembling for the integrity of the Permanent Settlement should have been roped in and found themselves grievously hoaxed,—protection of *his* capital is one thing with your Scotch merchant, protection of *somebody else's* capital interests is quite another,—that also is easy to understand. But that any sane Indian should be so blind to his own and his country's interests as to subscribe to this impracticable and reactionary scheme is almost incredible.

We should hardly have thought the matter worthy of comment were it not that we have reason to suspect that the bureaucratic oligarchy are using Mr. Curtis and his eccentric proposals as a stalking horse. And our suspicion is not lessened by the revelation that two prominent European gentlemen assisted in this roundtable conference but were prevented from signing the document by reason of their official position. We should have thought that after the exposure a year ago of Sir James Meston and Marris, officials would have been chary of association with

Mr. Curtis and his round table confabulations and we should like to know how it comes that these two gentlemen in Bengal have thought themselves free to ignore the definite orders of Government in this respect. However, the knowledge that two well-known Europeans of official position have played a part in the concoction of the scheme cannot help to increase respect for it, and its authors may rest assured that this idea of setting up a system of responsible government (under penalties of suspension for misconduct,) in regard to certain departments only, reserving the real executive power to the bureaucracy, and making special provision for the protection of foreign capitalists, will only be received with ridicule throughout the country. It has as much chance of being even looked at by the Congress, as Mr. Curtis has of being regarded by the Indian people as anything but a harmful sort of crank.

SIR VALENTINE'S CONVERSION.

IT sounds like the title of a three-volume novel or a three-act comedy, and certainly, if a little love interest could be woven in to satisfy the conventions, a very pleasing romance of political life could be constructed out of the dramatic confession which forms the anti-climax of Sir Valentine Chirol's ingenuous, if not subtle attempt, to lead the British public along the line of least resistance in dealing with the situation in India, which he is intelligent enough, in contrast to his erstwhile friends of the new Indo-European Association, to see requires to be treated with methods of conciliation rather than wild shrieks of "help" and calls for "Pa" to come and save us. It is characteristic of Sir Valentine and the class of reactionary-cum-opportunists to which he belongs, that his recognition of the cold facts of the situation is purely a matter of cold fact and expediency and is wholly uninspired by any sense of justice or any agreeable sentiment whatever. None the less, his letter to the "Times", a very full report of which is cabled by our London correspondent, contains so many striking admissions that it forms not the least valuable contribution to the discussion of the Indian problem from the Nationalist point of view. Sir Valentine makes the interesting statement that before the war he was among those English-

men who regarded the goal of full self-government within the Empire, for India as being "beyond the range of possibility," but that recent devlopments have converted him to the view that a definite and long step on the road to that goal must now be taken. He will have no half-hearted measures. He specifically cites the precedent of the Morley-Minto reforms, which he describes as a "relative failure," as an instance of promising to the eye what is not fulfilled in practice,—a very apt paraphrase of Lord Lytton's famous dictum. The reforms must be genuine and straightforward. Indians must be given "real responsibility." The movement for Home Rule has become a factor which can no longer be ignored and Sir Valentine himself is so far from ignoring it, that he has evidently made up his mind that the only safe course to pursue is to get to work at once and define the limits within which Indians are ripe for self-government.

That is where we have to be on our guard to see that this erstwhile reactionary does not meet with success in any attempt by subtle means to persuade the public in England that the limits which commend themselves to him in his new role of reformer will also satisfy the demands of the Indian people. For Sir Valentine Chirol, despite his changed angle of vision, is still far from realising the full strength of the political awakening of India. He states the case quite truly when he says that the Indian Nationalists have been able very plausibly to call in aid the general principles upon which the statesmen of Great Britain and her Allies have vindicated their participation in the world-wide struggle for democratic freedom and the right of oppressed nationalities and cites the Russian Revolution and the Mesopotamia Commission's report as factors which have served to stimulate the agitation in India and intensify the passionate longings of the people of this country to share in the fruits of the new spirit that is animating the whole world. But he looks at the whole matter in a coldly cynical way. He fails to realise that the Indian Nationalist has not used these considerations as a mere matter of political expediency because they provide him with a plausible argument,—the plausibility is not his but is the product of the compelling facts with which India no less than the rest of the world, is faced;—that he is not merely arguing from the point of view of political expediency, because he has a selfish desire to wrest the control of the destinies of three hundred million people from the hands

of a bureaucratic oligarchy to transfer it to the hands of an oligarchy of the intelligentsia, but that he is moved by deep convictions and emotions, by the aspiration which every right-minded man must have for the political freedom of his own country, and that, in short, all the noble motives which the British people find so commendable in the peoples who have not yet won that freedom and are under the domination of other powers,—peoples for whom they are ready to spend their blood and treasure,—equally inspire the mind of the Indian Nationalist whether he belongs to the intelligentsia or to the classes which, Sir Valentine deludes himself into believing, have not been touched by the awakening.

Sir Valentine displays amazing ignorance when he declares that there is very little organised articulate public outside the towns. One of the amazing discoveries of the agitation of the last two years is that nationalist sentiment and demand for political freedom have been animating the mind of the villager and the dweller in the districts as much as the so-called educated classes in the towns, and he who starts out to solve the problem of Indian reform to-day in ignorance of the fact that the districts and the villages were only waiting for the organisation that would give them the means of articulation and that they have recently become very emphatically articulate, will find himself on the road to failure. Only to-day we read of the 'Pioneer's' complaint that mass meetings are being held in the districts of the United Provinces for the signing of the Home Rule League's petition to Mr. Montagu, while those who have followed the recent development of the political situation in the Bombay Presidency are well aware of the enthusiastic mass meetings which have been held in the District towns to which the people of the villages have flocked, and of the meetings held in the villages themselves. This is no longer the agitation of a microscopic minority. It is the great political awakening of a whole people who may be largely illiterate but who know their grievances and their needs, and believe that their salvation lies in the power to control their own affairs through their elected representatives. When Sir Valentine comes to realise that, we shall be able no doubt to carry him a stage further on the path of expedient concession.

THE VAGARIES OF MR. ATHAVLE.

THE vagaries of Mr. Athavle, late acting fourth Presidency Magistrate, have already been the subject of comment in these columns. Since Mr. Athavle has ceased to act as Magistrate, the matter, in ordinary circumstances, might have been allowed to drop but as we understand the question of his special appointment to continue the hearing of various part heard cases is under consideration of Government, we feel it necessary to take notice of the numerous complaints we have received during the past few weeks from persons having business in his court, of Mr. Athavle's arbitrary and high handed, not to say illegal, treatment of members of the public attending his court. Mr. Athavle is very rightly punctilious in his desire to preserve peace and order in his court, but he is also very arbitrary and objectionable in his methods of achieving that end, and, owing possibly to the effect on his nerves of certain unpleasant cases—of which he has publicly complained,—with which he has had to deal, he seems to suffer from an excessive irritability when on the Bench, which disables him from the toleration even of the ordinary whispered conversations, without which lawyers and parties would be unable to carry on their business. For the ordinary Magistrate it is sufficient that the usher on his entrance shall call "Silence." Mr. Athavle's pomp and dignity, to say nothing of his nerves, require the preliminary perambulation of the court by a constable who loudly proclaims the Magistrate's injunction that, if anybody is found talking or making any noise he will be put in the dock and imprisoned. And the threat apparently is not infrequently carried into execution. After he has taken his seat on the Bench Mr. Athavle seems to see rather than hear talking or noise, and woe betide the person, who is detected in the act. Whether he is a pleader's clerk communicating with his master, a party to a case speaking to a witness, or a harmless member of the public—he is liable to the humiliation of being forcibly ejected from the court by a constable, at the Magistrate's behest or placed in the dock or sent to the police *chowki* in the court compound for the rest of the day. We have before us, among others, the statement of one Jafferji Kaderbhai, a person apparently of respectable character and associations who attended

the Mazagaon Police Court in connection with a theft case. When the accused was placed in the dock, the cashier of the shop where Mr. Jafferji is employed, pointed him out to Mr. Jafferji, the latter apparently being merely the silent recipient of this information. Thereupon both Jafferji and the cashier were thrust into the dock and made to stand there from about 12 to 4-30 p. m., being less fortunate than the accused against whom they came to give evidence, and with whom they shared the prisoner's pen, as the latter was discharged with a warning and left the dock with the satisfaction of leaving those who came to bear testimony against him still inside it. This, as we have said, is not the only case of its kind and the scandal of this process of showing inoffensive and guiltless respectable persons, without any charge being laid against them, into a pen with thieves and rogues, became so grave that latterly, we are informed, some of those having business in the courts deemed it inexpedient and dangerous to enter the sacred precincts of Mr. Athavle's court, lest somebody might dare to speak to them *in faciae curiae* with the dire consequences related above. We are not aware that any of Mr. Athavle's predecessors in the Mazagaon Court have ever found such drastic procedure essential to the preservation of order and quiet, and, apart from that it would be interesting to know under what section of the Penal Code or the Criminal Procedure Code this touchy magistrate punishes in this arbitrary way persons whom he deems to have been guilty of contempt *in faciae curiae*. The only section, under which he could act, is 228 I. P. C. which says that—

> Whoever *intentionally* offers any insult or causes any interruption to any public servant, while such public servant is sitting in any stage of a judicial proceeding shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term, which may extend to six months or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees.

This section, however, pre-supposes proof not only of the act but the guilty intention before punishment can follow. There is no law, as far as we are aware, under which a magistrate or anyone else conducting a judicial proceeding can arbitrarily and summarily and without some sort of process place people in confinement during his pleasure, unless there is a definite offence under the section we have quoted, in which case he may under section 480 of the Procedure Code, cause the offender to be detained in custody till the rising of the Court and may then, if he

thinks fit, take cognisance of the offence. But to apply these two sections to the occasions on which Mr. Athavle has detained persons in the dock would be an abuse of both law and common sense. It is perfectly clear that the Magisterial Bench is not the place for an individual who thinks himself free to act outside the law in punishing people for offences which not only have not been proved but do not in fact exist.

GOVERNMENT AND CONTRACTS.

We have no hesitation in saying that the mind of the Indian public in this city has been profoundly stirred by the sensation caused by the statements made by Mr. Karimbhoy Adamjee Peerbhoy before the Industrial Commission last week. It has been not less astonished by the attitude adopted by the Chairman of the Commission towards the grave complaints made by Mr. Karimbhoy of partiality shown towards certain European firms by Government in giving out contracts for Army supplies,—an attitude which it is still more astonishing to note was quietly acquiesced in by his Indian colleagues. Before commenting on the subject further, which we shall have to do at some length and in more than one article,—for the matter has been within our cognizance for a considerable time past and we have made exhaustive enquiries into it, so far as it lies in our power to do so,—we may dispose as briefly as possible of Sir Thomas Holland's precious contention that this was not matter of public interet, that it did not concern the Commission and that it would be unfair and improper of the Commission to listen to such allegations and to allow them to be recorded without giving the officers concerned an opportunity of saying publicly what they had to say, and his pretension to dictate to the public press regarding their duties and responsibilities in a matter of this kind.

To take the last first, we may say at once that Sir Thomas Holland's pretension in this matter would be repudiated at once by any self-respecting journal or journalist. To begin with, the persons to whom he addressed his remarks are not those, as he should know, on whom the responsibility lies. They are there to report the proceedings of the Commission and they owe no duty to Sir Thomas Holland or any one

else but to those who employ them. The latter are quite capable of interpreting their responsibility without the intervention or admonitions of Sir Thomas Holland, who would be better employed in studying his own responsibility towards the public, as the president of a Commission which has been appointed to investigate the present status of Indian industries, the extent to which they are encouraged or disencouraged by existing conditions and the means by which they can be expanded and encouraged in the future. That is not to be done by shabby attempts to burk the evidence of those who make inconvenient allegations against officials, by petulant complaints in regard to such a petty matter as the writing of a curt letter to the Secretary of the Commission,—as though anyone had anything to learn from officialdom in this country in the art of polite letter-writing!—and attempts to secure the suppression by the Press of a matter which, no matter what you may think, we shall be able to show, before we have done, is one of immense interest to the public, involving the question of avoidable neglect of our soldiers at the front and enormous waste of public moneys. All these matters would have doubtless come out, had Mr. Karimbhoy's desire to place them fully before the public been acceded to, as it should have been, and a heavy responsibility lies upon Sir Thomas Holland and his colleagues in evading their full investigation. We cannot condemn too strongly the supine conduct of the Indian members of the Commission in this matter. We consider that they are guilty of shirking a duty which was insistently demanded of them, and, instead of succumbing in silence to the extraordinary rule of conduct laid down by the President, they should have resigned rather than have allowed themselves to be prevented from going as fully as possible into this matter.

One of the questions prepared for the witnesses by the Commissioners, as quoted by our special representative on Friday last, disposes at once of the pretence that this is a matter with which they have no concern. This question may be quoted again.

> "With reference to the encouragement of Indian industries, have you any criticism to offer regarding the working of the present rules relating to the purchase of stores by Government Department? Have you any changes to propose in the rules themselves?"

We do not mean to say that the existence of this question alone justifies the contention that this was a matter which the Commission should have

gone into fully. On the contrary, it appears to us, on the face of it, that common sense and fairness and the very subject which the Commissioners have been set to investigate allow no alternative. But here we have the Commissioners themselves setting down the working of the "present rules relating to the purchase of Government stores" as a matter for investigation. It may be that some meticulous enquiry would show that the rules referred to are not related to the particular matter brought before the Commission by Mr. Karimbhoy. We do not know whether they are or not. But it is clear, from the question we have quoted, that there is nothing in principle or practice to prevent the Commission from going into this matter and that, on the contrary, it is one which by their own line of conduct, laid down by themselves, they were bound to investigate. As for the suggestion of unfairness to officials, with all the desire in the world to be polite, we can only characterise it as bunkum. Every day of the week allegations are being made in the courts, in the Press and elsewhere which it is a public duty to make, if there are any grounds for them, and they may or may not involve hardship to those concerned, who may be able to advance a reasonable explanation or defence. But the public interest would go to the dogs and there would be an end of all law or justice, if we had to follow Sir Thomas Holland's novel principle that these things should be investigated in an *ex parte* fashion by officialdom itself or that the allegation should come after the defence. Has Sir Thomas Holland read the Mesopotamia Report? Whatever its mistakes and defects, if there is one thing which that Report makes clear, it is that Government itself cannot be trusted fairly and satisfactorily to investigate allegations against its own officers. In matters of public interest there is only one rule to follow and that is to have things dragged into the light of open day and investigations carried out in such a way that the public can be satisfied of the dangers to the public interest involved in carrying out these enquiries in camera or allowing public departments to investigate their own alleged misdemeanours or shortcomings. There is nothing to prevent a public body like the Industrial Commission from doing the fullest justice to any officials whose conduct may be impugned. There is no reason to suppose that the Government will not put every facility in their way, give them the fullest information in their possession and permit any officer who can

throw light on the subject to appear before them. We hope that this will yet be done, but it cannot be done, of course, unless Mr. Karimbhoy himself is allowed to develop his case and is submitted to the ordeal of cross-examination, which he boldly invited.

In the meanwhile we propose, ourselves, to put the matter before the public in a way which, we hope, will make a public investigation of it absolutely imperative. We have no wish to prejudge the matter. But on the statements made by Mr. Karimbhoy to the Commission and from information in our own possession,—the authenticity of which cannot be questioned,—to amplify it, we shall show that there is a case which bears a very grave aspect and which will have to be answered, unless the departments concerned are content to rest under a very grave stigma. The two most serious aspects of it are the inexplicable neglect shown towards the comfort of the men fighting for the Empire, by the failure of those responsible to take advantage of the facilities which lay at their doors, and the impropriety of the preferential treatment which has been accorded to certain firms, both in the matter of the quantity of orders with which they have been favoured and the higher prices which they have been paid as compared with their competitors—a practice which, as we have said, has involved the taxpayer in vast sums of extra expenditure, which will require very substantial explanation if it is to be justified. We shall deal with these matters in further detail to-morrow and the public may judge for itself that we have not described them in terms of exaggeration.

AN INVIDIOUS DISTINCTION.

THE public will remember the parade with which some months ago the military authorities announced a formidable list of convictions by courts-martial of a commissioned officer and several subordinates, of various malpractices in connection with fraud and dishonesty in the supply services of the Army. It was on account of several instances of such fraud and dishonesty, that the Commander-in-Chief ordered the publication of details regarding these offenders, their crimes and punishments, and his Excellency expressed his hope that the publicity given to the disgrace which had befallen the persons concerned, would act as a

warning and bring home to all the grave nature of such crimes. Very few people, however, are aware of the surprising sequel to this public display of official sternness and regard for the maintenance of purity in the public service. The Army Orders containing the convictions and punishment and the warning of the Commander-in-Chief were given the extra publicity of a communique to the press. Very quietly, however, on the 8th January this year, these impressive orders were cancelled, in so far as the convictions and punishments of the Europeans in the list of delinquents were concerned. Thus the peculiar thing is that while all the Europeans whose names were contained in this list of persons convicted of serious offences have been released and the convictions and sentences cancelled without a word of explanation to the public, whose interest in the matter was previously considered worthy of such unusual attention, a specific exception has been made in the cases of the Indians who are convicted. We would like to know what this means and the sooner the Commander-in-Chief delivers himself of the secret, either in Army Orders or through some other suitable channel, the better it will be for the credit attaching to the intentions of the Army authorities to put down with a stern hand all such corrupt and criminal practices as were described in the famous Army Order 642.

We have been informed that the explanation of what is at present an amazing mystery, so far as the public is concerned, is that some intelligent person, either in Whitehall or Simla, discovered a grave irregularity in the trials of these men, in that the procedure followed in certain respects, though allowed in the Indian Army is not premissible in the British service. Their convictions, and, in fact, the whole of the proceedings were thus rendered null and void in military law and the release of the men concerned was inevitable. This may be so, but, if it is so, it makes the failure to treat the Indians, who were similarly convicted on the same footing a grave reproach to the sense of justice possessed by the authorities concerned. We would suggest to the Commander-in-Chief that, unless he wishes it to be understood that there is one law in this matter for the British and another for the Indian under military discipline, he had better proceed at once to the promulgation of the cancelling of the sentences on the five Indians who have been so invidiously exempted from his recent order. As a matter of strictly technical adherence to the law, it may be that the release of the British

soldiers concerned was demanded and that the same considerations do not apply to these Indian men. But morally the distinction is utterly abhorrent and improper and in mere fairness, to put it at the lowest, the latter ought also to be released.

That there was irregularity, however in the trial of at least one of the Indians convicted, as well as in the cases of the Europeans who have been released, appears from the case put forward on behalf of Mahmed Ebrahim Khan, a 7th Grade clerk of nine years' service in the Supply and Transport Corps, in a petition to the Commander-in-Chief, which has come under our notice. This man was charged with having received a monthly allowance from a Government contractor, and with having taken commissions from another Government contractor on all the bills he passed for payment in the local purchase office. The whole case against this man seems to have been of a most questionable character. He was, in fact, convicted on the uncorroborated evidence of two accomplices, whose evidence does not appear to be worth anything at all, when subjected to the simplest tests required by fair and judicial consideration. But more than this, there were grave irregularities in the fact that it appears from the record of the Court-Martial, that the President and Members of the Court were not sworn as required by Section 31 of the Manual of Indian Military Law, an irregularity in itself sufficient to vitiate the whole proceedings, and that the accused was not allowed to call witnesses for the defence, a fact which is not recorded in the proceedings. Mahomed Ebrahim Khan's petition states that when he desired to call witnesses to contradict one of the contractors who gave evidence against him, he was told by the Court that the evidence would be useless. If this is a fact, we cannot imagine anything more irregular and improper, and it is clear that a conviction obtained under such circumstances ought not to be allowed to stand. The whole case against this man seems to have been weak and vitiated by inconsistencies and want of corroboration of the most material points, but the fact of the refusal to allow him to call witnesses is a ground which obviously demands the quashing of the proceedings. Ebrahim Mahomed Khan's petition to the Commander-in-Chief has been rejected but we trust the memorial which is now being sent to the Viceroy on his behalf by his wife will meet with better consideration. We have not the least doubt from our own knowledge

of the case that, if the members of Governor-General's Council examine the case carefully they will arrive at the conclusion that this man ought to be released and restored to his former position. In the meanwhile, we would again impress upon Sir Charles Munro that it is desirable to remove the ugly impression created by the invidious distinction which has been made in Army Order No. 36 of January 8th.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE PRESS ACT.

THE statement that was laid on the table of the Imperial Council last week, showing the newspapers dealt with under the Press Act and the printing presses against which action has been taken, fully justifies the complaint made in these columns as to the partial character of the statistics quoted by Lord Chelmsford in his reply to the Deputation of the Press Association. His Excellency, it will be remembered, in order to "make clearer" his contention that the Act had not been administered harshly and that the keeping of a press had not become a "hazardous operation" invited the deputation to "look at the statistics of the operation of the Act." It seems that Lord Chelmsford himself had not looked at the statistics of the Act or he could not have advanced the carefully selected material he gave to illustrate his point that the Act does not operate harshly on the press as a whole. Apparently he was under the impression that the few figures, suited to the purpose of his speech, laid before him by his advisers were the beginning and end of the statistics regarding the Act, a misapprehension which seems to illustrate two things,—first, the great daring of the person or persons who made such play with these figures in the full knowledge that a return of fuller facts and figures was about to be issued; second, that Lord Chelmsford, in supposing that the mere forfeiture of security is an indication of the extent of the harsh or lenient operation of the Act, was unaware not only of the provisions and working of the Act but also of the contents of the address to which he was replying. We cannot find any other reason to account for his quotation of these misleading statistics.

Everybody who has given any attention to this matter, studied the Act and followed the complaints that have been made against it, knows

that it is not the actual forfeiture of security that is the only or the chief grievance of the Press. It is the operation of the Act in regard to the demand for security which levies a heavy tax on the Press, enables the executive to exercise undesirable pressure on newspapers and often places honest press owners and editors in the invidious position of being exhibited to the public as persons who are uot fit to be exempted from the deposit of security. This can be briefly shown by a description of the present practice. Under the Act it is open to a magistrate to exempt the proprietor of a newly-starting press; the obvious result of this is that an applicant for registration who is not exempted is regarded as a suspicious character, a fact which is often enough highly damaging to his business prospects. The decision as to exemption, further, is generally based on a police report. But that is not the whole trouble. It is possible for a magistrate so to penalise the starter of a new press, by making the demand for security sufficiently large, as to strangle his enterprise at the outset, and effectually prevent his press from coming into existence. Then again there is the demand for security after exemption,--that is to say the liability of the owner of a press to be asked for security after he has been in the first instance exempted,—and the demand for enhanced security. Thus there are many stages before we come to the one of forfeiture and at all these stages the executive have it in their power to harrass the press-owner or publisher, and the extent to which the latter are harassed, as illustrated in the official return just issued, bears out every word of the contentions advanced in the address of the Deputation to the Viceroy.

The "statement giving names of newspapers dealt with under the Press Act" shows that altogether 285 papers have been so dealt with. But the title of the statement is so vague that it is not clear what it means. The name of this journal appears in the list and so do those of most of our local contemporaries, including "The Times of India" and "The Advocate of India." No action under the Act has ever been taken against this journal, but, of course, when it was started a declaration under the Act and application for exemption from security had to be made and was granted. To this extent "The Bombay Chronicle" has been "dealt with under the Act". Our contemporaries, however, which were in existence before the Act came into operation, were not under this obligation and we are unable to say why they are included in the

list of papers "dealt with under the Act." It is the second statement "of action taken against Printing Presses under the Press Act," that we find the extent to which the Act has acted in making the keeping of a press or the running of a newspaper an invidious undertaking. Lord Chelmsford told us of the number of presses and newspapers that had been warned and those whose security had been forfeited. He said nothing about the large number of papers and presses from which security has been taken once and more, and he ignored the fact that nearly 200 presses which were asked for security failed to find it and thus never came into existence. There is a full list of these in the official return. This means that in the majority of these cases the proprietors were asked for such high security in relation to the capital of their enterprise that they had to give up the idea of starting a press. The number of printing presses from which security was demanded under section 3(1) is 214. The number of presses that failed to produce the security and never came into existence is 173. The number of presses from which security was demanded under Section 3 (2) was 55 and the number which thereupon were obliged to close down was 28. But the figures showing the total amount taken by the Government in deposit illustrate more impressively than anything else the extent to which the Act has operated as a burden on the Press, for we find that the total amount of the deposits under the Act is no less than Rs. 3,25,400, of which Rs. 1,67,000 represents the amount demanded under Section 3(1), not including deposits demanded of the 173 papers and presses which never came into existence. Rs. 61,000 of this total came from Bombay alone and no less than Rs. 82,900 from the Punjab.

It is useless to pretend in the face of these startling figures, of the fact that the demand for security, as we have said, is extremely damaging to the reputation and business prospects of a press, and of the frivolous reasons for which security is in so many instances demanded, that the Act is not an unfair burden on journalistic enterprise and the printing trade at large. Lord Chelmsford's boast that only a few papers and presses have had their security forfeited, it will be seen from the figures we have quoted, has no bearing on the real complaint of the Press. The cases in which forfeiture has been enforced only represents the papers that have offended within the extremely wide and compre-

hensive provisions of Section 4 of the Act and the fewness of these in number bears out the contention of the Deputation that Press as a whole does not merit the slur cast upon it by the existence of the Act. The more telling figures contained in the return, which we have quoted, on the other hand, show the extent to which the Press as a whole is made to suffer for the offences of an infinitesimal portion of it.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE PRESS ACT.

WHEN dealing with the statistics of the Press Act the other day, we were able to show that the few figures quoted by Lord Chelmsford in his reply to the Deputation of the Press Association gave a very imperfect indication of the full extent to which the Act has operated as a burden on the press of the country. The full returns as laid upon the table of the Imperial Council were not then before us. The statements with which we dealt were that showing the action taken against printing presses under the Act as distinct from newspapers and that merely stating the names of the various newspapers dealt with under the Act. We have now received, with the Government of India "Gazette" of the 24th instant, a further statement, showing in detail the action taken against newspapers, as distinct from printing presses, which adds very strongly to the contention, which Lord Chelmsford sought to disprove, that the Act is a source of harrassment to the newspaper press as a whole and even to honest proprietors and editors. It will be remembered that the total amount of the deposits forfeited and unforfeited, taken by Government from printing presses as security for good behaviour amounted to the large sum of Rs. 3,25,400. To this we can now add the total amount of the deposits taken from newspapers, exclusive of the presses,—this point must be borne in mind, because, for instance, although the deposits taken from Mrs. Besant were for "New India," they are included in the printing press returns and not those of newspapers. This amounts to no less a sum than Rs. 1,21,000 made up of Rs. 61,200 taken under Section 8 (1), Rs. 4,000 under the same section as enhanced security, Rs. 54,000 under Section 8 (2) and Rs. 2,000 under Section 10, that is, after forfeiture of the first security. Thus we find that the total burden laid upon the press of the country

under this system of enforcing security for good behaviour without trial or without affording the victim any legal form of defence, amounts to the huge sum of Rs. 4,86,000 or nearly five lakhs. It would be interesting to know what proportion this amount bears to the figure of the total capital invested in printing enterprise in this country. It must be pretty considerable. But whatever it may be, we would ask Lord Chelmsford whether these figures were within his knowledge when he endeavoured to show by the partial figures he quoted, that the Act is not harshly administered and does not entail a heavy tax on newspaper and press enterprise in general; and if they were then unknown to him, whether he still holds to the generous view he took of the administration of the Act.

There are other interesting and illuminating features of this return. The return we dealt with previously showed that nearly 200 presses which were asked for initial security, failed to find it or to produce it and were therefore still-born. To this has to be added 105 prospective newspapers which were similarly stifled in the hour of their conception. Judging by the titles some of these appear to have been totally innocent in their intentions, such for instance as "The Memsahib," a weekly which it was proposed to start in Madras, "International Pen Portraits," also a still-born Madras enterprise and "Fun and Frolic" which excited the suspicion of the authorities in Calcutta and thus never came into existence.

We are somewhat startled to discover that this journal received, according to this official return, altogether five warnings under the Act, all in 1915 and four in the same month of June of that year. We can only say it is the first we have heard of it and we await enlightenment. But we have no doubt that some of our contemporaries which figure in the list may be equally surprised to learn that they also have been warned under the Act,—the "Times of India" three times, the "Advocate of India" three times and such an exceptionally innocuous journal as the "Deccan Herald" twice. We are somewhat curious to learn whether, in view of these interesting revelations, our contemporaries which have poured so much scorn on the protests of those who object to the manner in which the Act is made to operate against unoffending journals, still retain the view that the innocent, as well as the guilty, are not made to suffer. It is a matter, of course, to be decided by one's

moral sense. And there are people who are so blunted in that respect that, if they can escape with a warning, they are quite indifferent to the moral obloquy of an appearance in the police court. We are still more interested in the case of "The Statesman," which has loudly trumpeted its opinion that no honest editor has anything to fear under the Act, and which, the return shows, has also been warned under the Act. The inference of course is obvious. Here again we are reminded of those sanctimonious people who, fond of proclaiming that harsh laws need have no terrors for honest men, have subsequently had to submit to the exposure of the skeleton in their own cupboard. "The Statesman" was so particularly pleased with Lord Chelmsford's quotation of Sir James Fitzstephen's aphorism, that no man who sincerely wished not to excite disaffection ever wrote anything which any other honest man believed to be intended to excite disaffection. Sometimes our chickens come home to roost!

THE VICEROY AND THE JUDGES.

WE referred a week ago to the many fallacies and actual errors which characterised the reply of Lord Chelmsford to the deputation of the Press Association of India. The matter cannot be allowed to rest where it is. The head of the Government in this country occupies a position different from that in other countries of the Empire. He is not merely the chief of the administration but he is also the representative of the Sovereign. His position is therefore, one of some delicacy when he engages in controversy though perhaps not more so than those who have to cross swords with him. Previous Viceroys have not, as a rule, made that position more difficult to either side by the manner of their dealing with public questions. Lord Chelmsford has unfortunately brought a new atmosphere into the Viceregal audience chamber and has shown that he is not averse to play the part of a special pleader in order to defend a law, the character of which he admits "strikes across the grain of his whole being." We do not think that there can be two opinions as to the undesirability of the Viceroy appearing in that role, no matter what the circumstances. One expects from him at least a judicial examination of any issue he is called upon to deal with or

defend. In Lord Chelmsford's speech to the Press Deputation, however we find all the features of unabashed advocacy. The points to be replied to are carefully selected from an address of a somewhat voluminous character, others of importance being ignored: statistics of a partial character are quoted which could not for a moment satisfy anyone accustomed to deal with statistics: at one moment the enunciation by a High Court Judge of the principle that words and passages should be judged by their context is quoted, the next moment the principle itself is shamelessly ignored in practice by the speaker himself. At one point his audience is gravely reminded that the expressions of judges in a certain matter were mere *obiter dicta*, at another the *obiter dicta* of one judge are solemnly quoted to justify the action of the executive. There is no relief to the partiality of the whole utterance. It is marked by every sort of inconsistency and want of logic, and passages, some of which have been acquitted by the High Court of any degree of criminality or objectionableness, are torn from their context to justify the contention that a need exists for an act which strikes across the grain of the speaker's whole being. Such an utterance may gain applause from the reactionary press and in the corridors of the Delhi secretariat but it has made the most painful impression on the general public.

but which it is impossible for any right minded person to connect with their crimes. Such young men are practically told that the assassins are pursuing the same ideal as themselves with singular courage and disregard of self, and that such criminals should not be punished but convinced of the folly of their ways. The article presents the assassins to such young men (and to the public generally) in a far more favourable light than any ordinary person would have viewed them in, and although it may not amount to incitement, it certainly seems to me to give encouragement to the commission of crimes, which undoubtedly fall within Section 4 (1)."

The judge in question was Mr. Justice Ayling. He was sitting at a Special Bench with the Acting Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Sheshagiri Iyer. These two judges found that the article in question was unobjectionable, even under the comprehensive terms of the Press Act. Hear what they had to say :—

"I have read the article with considerable care, and I cannot find in it any palliation of the anarchical crimes committed by the young anarchists or revolutionaries of Bengal as suggested on behalf of the Crown. . . . . I do not think that any reader of 'New India,' who is not predisposed to read meanings into the article which are not there, would carry away the impression that it attempts in any way to excuse the conduct of the political assassins in Bengal. Nor is there a single word in the whole of that article which can be said to have a tendency to bring the Government into hatred and contempt or to excite disaffection against it."—*The Acting Chief Justice.*

"I am not able to distinguish its sinister import. . . . . I am not able to spell out of this article an intention to extol anarchism and to invite unwary youths to commit crime."—*Mr. Justice Sheshagiri Iyer.*

Incidentally it may be pointed out what a hazardous undertaking the keeping of a press must be when we find such diametrically opposed views, on the merits of one article, held by judges sitting on the same bench. But we are not concerned with that at present. Lord Chelmsford owes it to the public to explain whether he quoted the passage from Mr. Justice Ayling's *dicta* in ignorance of the judgments of his two brother judges, or with the deliberate intention of flouting the settled judgment of the Court. This is a matter which ought not to, and in

fact cannot be left in doubt. We are reluctant to believe that the latter is the explanation of an utterance that has produced the gravest apprehension in the public mind. It is hardly conceivable that the Head of the Administration, even if he conceives himself to be authorised to rebuke the judiciary for overstopping the limits of their authority, as he thinks, has deliberately taken it upon himself to set aside the finding of the High Court: for if Lord Chelmsford *knew* that Mr. Justice Aymag's colleagues had expressed contrary opinions that is what he is doing. We have never yet heard of the most extravagant advocate of the claims of the executive suggesting anything so subversive of respect for the judiciary and the law and indeed of all discipline in the State. If however, as we believe must be the case, Lord Chemlsford was misled by those to whom he confided the duty of advising him on this question, the matter is one of hardly less gravity. If our Governors are dependent on persons who pursue such glaring methods in placing before them matter for a public utterance, what, the public will ask, will these not be capable of when placing before them the material on which is based executive action which does not require to be scrutinised by the Courts or is not open for public criticism? We prefer to acquit Lord Chelmsford of any intention to flout or over-ride the decision of the highest judicial tribunal. We cannot conceive that to be possible. But an explanation of this extraordinary *contretemps* must be given to the public. The matter cannot, we repeat, rest where it is.

LORD CHELMSFORD ON THE INDIAN PRESS.

IN his reply to the address presented to him by a deputation of the Press Association on Monday, Lord Chelmsford remarked that it was unusual for a Viceroy to receive a deputation of that nature. If the circumstances were unusual his Excellency did his best to live up to the occasion by delivering a fulmination against the Indian Press, the character and tone of which is certainly unusual in Viceregal speeches, and it is to be hoped will remain so. One would have to go back to the

days of Lord Lytton, of not very happy memory, to find a parallel for this kind of hectoring of public men asking an opportunity to represent their grievances to the representative of the King-Emperor. We have expressed the hope that such utterances will remain unusual because their repetition would tend to destroy that atmosphere of cordiality between the public and the head of the administration in this country, which is the latter's greatest asset in preserving the confidence of those whose welfare is so largely committed to his hands, and which Lord Chelmsford's two immediate predecessors did so much to foster. It would be a sad outlook both for the Government and the people of this country if the mood of distrust and resentment provoked by Viceregal utterances which characterised the regime which preceded Lord Minto, were again to be instituted. Lord Chelmsford needs to be reminded that it is possible to be firm without being offensive.

We do not know why his Excellency should have been so concerned to assure the deputation on Monday that his remarks were not intended to have personal application. The assurance would have been gratuitous if his Excellency had not yielded to the temptation to hurl minatory questions at a deputation of gentlemen who were unfortunately not in a position to answer him. His Excellency could have said all that he had to say, it seems to us, without indulging in this kind of rhetoric, which is more suited to a debating assembly where such questions of a personal character can be answered by those at whom they are aimed than the Viceregal audience chamber, where they cannot. There is one more point in regard to the Viceroy's complaints against the deputation which it is necessary to touch before passing to a criticism of the subject-matter of his speech. He complained that the present time when "The Empire is in the throes of a life and death struggle is hardly the moment at which to raise even such an important matter as this," and that the reception of the deputation had meant that "precious time had had to be devoted to a matter which might well have waited a more convenient season." It need only be said that it was open to the Viceroy to await a more convenient season if he thought fit, but since he was anxious to show that he is "always ready to meet those who feel that they have a grievance to advance" it would have been well to do so with a good grace. The character of the reply hardly suggests, moreover, that the precious time that has been devoted to the matter, has been expended in a really effective investigation of the grievances put forward in the

Address. But a complaint of this kind is likely to leave the public cold in view of the leisure that the Government in this country have found, amid the distractions of the great struggle in which the Empire is engaged, to devote to many matters that might have awaited a more convenient season, among not the least of which may be mentioned the Government of India's premature despatch to the Secretary of State regarding post-war reforms, the wholly unnecessary decision to enter at this moment on the business of examining the recommendations of the Public Services Commission, and a Viceregal tour to Burma. As we have often pointed out the Government have done so much to provoke controversy since the war began that these complaints of the attention being distracted from the war whenever they are held to account on any particular question are somewhat out of place.

It has been announced that the Council of the Press Association propose to issue a detailed statement dealing with the Viceroy's reply and the matter is in any case one of such a voluminous nature that it would be impossible in a single article to dispose of all the fallacies and actual errors into which Lord Chelmsford has been led by his advisers in the composition of his pronouncement. He expressed himself as being in favour of a free press, but it must be frankly said that if the standard of conduct and the conditions which he lays down as the essential requirement of that greatly desired consummation were applied to all countries the need for a muzzle would be as great in all countries as he conceives it to be in India. It is possible to understand the attitude of those who honestly maintain that the conditions of a dependency do not permit the existence of a free press and the expression and publication of opinions which might be regarded as harmless in a self-governing country, though we take the other view that the absence of free institutions and of an administration responsible to the people makes the presence of a free press the more essential. But we are unable to understand Lord Chelmsford who says that anything in the nature of muzzling the press strikes right across the whole grain of his being, and then proceeds to justify the existence of a muzzle which can be applied in a most arbitrary fashion, without resort to the law courts, by the quotation of a few casual extracts from one or two journals, one of which, and the one that seems to have impressed him most gravely, has actually been held by two judges of the High Court, under wide and comprehensive terms of the Act which he defends, to be of an unobjectionable character. But it is characteristic,

we regret to say, of the whole of the Viceroy's justification of the Act, that in referring to this extract he quoted with profound emphasis the opinion of a High Court Judge and completely ignored the differing view of that Judge's two colleagus by whom he was overruled. We have too great a confidence in Lord Chelmsford's desire to deal fairly with a great question of this kind to suppose that he can possibly have been aware when he delivered his speech, that he was quoting mere *obiter dicta* on a point in regard to which the settled judgment of the Court holds an opposite view. But we fear that this instance gives the clue to the manner in which the material for Lord Chelmsford's guidance in this matter has been prepared. However that may be, it is clear that there is no justification for quoting, in support of such a position as his Excellency has taken up, isolated passages occurring in only two papers, we believe, without giving any clue to the context, or any reference to enable those to whom he addressed his rebuke to examine the grounds of his plea, for it is nothing less, that they afford an indication of the existence of a reckless, mischievous and criminal section of the press ; which, moreover, is so important as to justify the placing of the press of the whole country under the operation of a drastic and arbitrary measure which leaves executive authority in complete control of every kind of publication. Lord Chelmsford, it is true, declared that he could give many more such extracts but we assume that he chose the most effective for his purpose and in reply to his question whether the deputation came before him to say that they did not regret that such sentiment should have appeared in the public press it can only be said that the enquiry was besides the point and merely rhetorical. If the nature of the extracts is, as Lord Chelmsford says, of a kind to stir up hatred and contempt, the question can be very easily settled by those responsible taking the proper course open to them and prosecuting the authors or publishers in a court of law. The sections of the code are sufficiently wide. But to suggest that because a few papers have published matter which in the view of executive authority has a criminal tendency, therefore it is necessary to place the whole press under a ban is to our mind preposterous.

The deputation came to ask that in this respect they should have restored to the profession they represent rights of ordinary citizens to be tried and judged if they have offended in a court of law. Lord Chelmsford, however, prefers a law which subjects them to penalisation under the *obiter dicta* of executive authority, and in his attempt to

maintain the prestige of that law he sweeps aside and rebukes the grave strictures on its character by the highest judicial authorities. Not content with hectoring the press he sternly rebukes the judges of the High Court. *It is their function, he tells us, not to say what the law ought to be but what it is.* Thus he would have the judges also muzzled.

We fear that Lord Chelmsford's unusual view of the functions of judges cannot deprive them of their undoubted authority, not to say what *the law ought to be, but to say when a law is a harsh, inequitable and* oppressive law; and a Government that continues to administer such laws in the face of such views of judicial authority, is travelling outside those traditions and principles which have earned for British law and its administration a position of supremacy among modern civilised states. It is amazing that Lord Chelmsford should be ignorant of the historical fact that the condemnation of bad laws by the judiciary has been frequently effective in bringing about their repeal. He seems however to have accepted wholesale the narrow view of the functions and the rights of the judiciary often asserted by illiberal bureaucrats in this country. That view has hitherto hardly deserved the compliment of being controverted. The endorsement it has now received from the head of the Government will come, we imagine, as indeed will the whole of this illiberal utterance, as a grave shock to the public of this country.

LOYALTY AND REPRESSION.

IT would be hard to imagine anything more gratuitously irritating to public feeling in this country or more unnecessary from any point of view than the order which has been issued by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab prohibiting Mr. Tilak from entering the sacred precincts of his gubernatorial jurisdiction. We have the usual formula that "whereas, etc., there are reasonable grounds for believing that Mr. Tilak is intending to visit the Punjab and there to act in a manner prejudicial to public safety" he is thereby ordered not to enter the Punjab under pain of punishment by imprisonment which may extend to

three years. Unfortunately those who wield the powers of the Defence of India Act cannot be made answerable to anyone for their actions and there is no means of compelling the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab to disclose the nature of the grounds which he holds to be reasonable for believing that Mr. Tilak is likely to act in a manner prejudicial to the public safety. It seems to us that if such grounds really existed, that is to say grounds which would bear any kind of proper juridical examination, the proper thing to do would be to bring Mr. Tilak to trial in open court in order that he may be prevented from prejudicing the safety, not only of the Punjab but of this province and other parts of India as well.

Unfortunately, however, the Government of this Province has tried one fall with Mr. Tilak, and has secured the judgment of the highest tribunal that what was conceived in the executive mind to be against the public safety was merely legitimate criticism of the administration. Since then Mr. Tilak has addressed a score or more of public gatherings, not only in this province but in other parts of the country. He lived in a state of popular triumph during Congress week at Lucknow and both his going and coming were in the nature of a triumphal progress. At Cawnpore and other centres he was the object of great popular demonstrations and made speeches. We are not aware that it has been contended that in any of these places the public safety was endangered either by his presence, his actions or his utterances. He has made speeches on Home Rule and stirred up a great deal of popular enthusiasm, but the places he has visited and the province in which he dwells remain in a state of peace and loyalty. Are we to presume then that Sir Michael O'Dwyer is in the possession of the knowledge of some secret fell design on the part of Mr. Tilak to stir up a revolution or create public disorder in the Punjab? It is impossible, of course, to believe anything of the kind and we must conclude, therefore, that Sir Michael O'Dwyer, whose public utterances do not preclude the idea, regards the kind of constitutional political propaganda in which Mr. Tilak is engaged as prejudicial to public safety in the Punjab. That leads to the presumption that the people of the province which it is Sir Michael's boast is the most loyal in the land, are composed of such inflammable material that what is safe and tolerable in every other part of India is dangerous in the Punjab. We wonder how long Lord Chelmsford will be content to allow these

vagaries in the administration of the Defence of India Act on the part of the Provincial Governments to continue to astonish and irritate public opinion. It seems a poor sort of way of exhibiting trust in the loyalty and good feeling of the people at a time, when you are asking them to enrol themselves for the defence of the land, to allow a Provincial satrap to tell them that they are not fit to hear Mr. Tilak's speeches on Home Rule, that their loyalty to the Empire is so poor a thing that it can only be supported by Sir Michael O'Dwyer's method of placing a gag on public oratory.

The idea that Mr. Tilak is a menace to public safety was exploded in the High Court of Bombay in November last and has been disproved by the whole course of subsequent events. It has been clearly demonstrated that Mr. Tilak can be trusted to go freely among a loyal people and make speeches without untoward results. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, therefore, leaves us with no alternative but to believe that in his opinion the people of the Punjab are not fitted to share with the people of Bombay and the rest of India the confidence of Government. We can only say that such a view is in direct contradiction of his own and other official public utterances. It is in any case, of course, a view which we know to be wrong. The order thus appears to us to be entirely unjustifiable. But apart from the injustice which it inflicts upon an individual, as well as the people of a whole province, we are bound to protest in the strongest terms against these actions of executive authority which constitute a libel on the country as a whole and are likely to convey an impression in England and foreign countries that India is seething with incipient sedition and in such a condition that repressive measures of the most arbitrary character are necessary to keep the populace in check. That is the inevitable result of such exercise of the powers of the Defence of India Act as we have had in Bombay, the Central Provinces, Madras and the Punjab where its provisions have been used under the plea of preserving the public safety but in effect in attempts to stifle constitutional political propaganda. It is useless for high officials to pay tribute to the unchangeable loyalty of the Indian people and the "sanity of the great Indian public,"—the latest phrase addressed to an American interviewer,—if that loyalty and sanity are to be impugned periodically by acts of repression of this character. Let us assume that Mr. Tilak is what the High Court of Bombay said he was not,—that he is a dangerous and lawless orator. Would that justify the slur that is cast upon the people

of a province by being told that it would be dangerous to let him come among them? What becomes of the loyalty and sanity of the people of which we hear so much and which, if we are to believe Sir Charles Cleveland, has been the true support of the Government? The Government is about to make a great appeal to the loyalty of the people and we make not the least doubt that, if the people are trusted, and the appeal is made in the right way and under proper conditions, it will meet with an enthusiastic response. But it is not likely to be helped by this gratuitous and irritating misuse of arbitrary powers that are intended for the protection of the State from espionage and rebellion, and not for the purpose of checking legitimate public discussion. If Lord Chelmsford wants the people to trust him, he must show that he really trusts them by checking the excesses of executive authority.

AN APPEAL TO THE VICEROY.

MR. Bepin Chandra Pal, who has also come under the ban of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's displeasure and has been served with an order prohibiting him from entering the Punjab in the same terms as that served on Mr. Tilak, announces that he never had any intention of going to the Punjab. We are informed that neither was there any such intention on the part of Mr. Tilak and that the statement contained in the order to that effect is entirely false. Under these circumstances one would like to know what becomes of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's "reasonable grounds of belief." The order states that there are "reasonable grounds for believing" that Mr. B. G. Tilak, or Mr. Pal as the case may be, "is intending to visit the Punjab and there to act in a manner prejudicial to public safety." Now, if the first part of the belief is wrong the second part is necessarily so and the whole charge falls to the ground. It is quite clear, that if Mr. Tilak and Mr. Pal had no intention of entering the Punjab they could have had no intention of acting there in a manner prejudicial to the public safety. We hope the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab will be able to appreciate the simple logic. Thus we find

that a most grosss accusation is flung at two public men on wholly unsustainable grounds and it becomes necessary to ask where Sir Michael O'Dwyer got his "grounds" from. That he has been grievously misled is obvious. But the misfortune is not his alone. He has inflicted a grave wrong on others and it is due to them and the public, to whom these *ex parte* charges against individuals is a matter of serious concern, to offer them some explanation. We want to know who told Sir Michael O'Dwyer that these gentlemen were about to visit the Punjab and, what steps he took to satisfy himself that the information was of a reliable character before he set in motion the drastic and scarifying provisions of the Defence of India Act. Our comments yesterday and our protest were made in the absence of any knowledge as to whether Mr. Tilak had any intention of visiting the Punjab or not. The fact that he had not gives the matter an infinitely graver aspect. Yesterday we appealed to Lord Chelmsford to do something to protect the public against these excesses of executive authority. We feel bound, in the light of this new information, once more to emphasise the danger involved in the continuance of a supine attitude on the part of the Viceroy towards the manner in which certain of the Provincial governments are irritating and exasperating public feeling by reckless use of the arbitrary powers that have been placed in their hands.

INSULT TO PEOPLE'S TRIBUNES.

A public meeting was held on February 22nd 1917 under the joint auspices of the Bombay Branches of the Home Rule League, at the Morarji Goculdas Hall, Cavel Street, Bombay, to protest against the order passed by the Punjab Government under the Defence of India Act, prohibiting Mr. B. G Tilak and Mr. B. C. Pal from entering their province. Mr. B. G. Horniman presided The hall was crowded and many were unable to obtain admission.

Mr. Tuljapurkar proposed Mr. B. G. Horniman to take the chair.

The seconder of the proposition said that Mr. Horniman was one of those rare Englishmen who not only thought like Indians but felt like Indians (cheers).

The proposition was carried with acclamation.

The Chairman thanked the proposer and seconder for the kind way in which they had spoken of him. But while he regarded it as a great honour that he should be told that he came there because he thought and felt like an Indian he would like to say that the reason he was there, was that he claimed to think and feel like an Englishman (Cheers) and it was his conviction that when they got the right sort of Englishmen and the right sort of Indians they felt, and thought in the same way. Apart from that, he came there not because it was any pleasure to preside on such an occasion, but because it was a meeting of protest against an action of Government in this country which all should regard with the greatest disapproval. It was no pleasure to him to join in a protest of this character but the protest was necessary and he therefore joined in it with all his heart and soul. He was sure they were all as tired as he was of these continued meetings of protest against the actions of the executive. But if there was any idea that the public of Bombay, and the public of India were likely to be the first to be tired out in this process of provoking protest on one side and protesting on the other he would assure the provokers that the public would outlast them and they would continue to protest against every such arbitrary executive act as had brought them there that evening. (Cheers.) In the first place they had met to protest against an injustice that had been done to and an insult that had been cast upon a public man of this Presidency whom they all regarded with reverence and admiration; a public man who, whatever the authorities might think of him, was trusted by the people and who held the adhesion of the public in a way in which he thought no other public man in this Presidency did. (Applause.) It was their duty to protest when a man who was a recognised public leader, was told in a public official document that he was about to act in a way that was calculated to endanger the public safety. (Cheers) Secondly, there was the principle of the infringment of a great public right, the infringement of the right of every individual in this country to follow his course as a free citizen, as a free subject of the King-Emperor, to go where he liked, when he liked and to say what he liked, provided he kept within the bounds of the law. (Cheers) If the condition of the country had really reached such a stage that the Government felt it necessary to tell a man beforehand, instead of after he had done, what he was going to do, that he was going to endan-

danger? (Cheers.) And since the Government of Bombay believed Mr. Tilak was acting in a manner prejudicial to public safety, he (Mr. Tilak) had visited other provinces and behaved in the same manner yet nothing untoward had resulted. The areas he had visited, remained loyal and peaceful. He (the speaker) enquired then why the Government of Punjab thought that public safety would be endangered if Mr. Tilak went to that province. It was his (the speaker's) conviction that if Mr. Tilak did go to the Punjab for the purpose of his propaganda, the propagation of Home Rule on the lines of the resolution of the National Congress, so far from his presence being prejudicial to public safety he would be establishing a new assurance for public safety. (Cheers.) If the Government of the Punjab had looked at the matter from a different angle of vision they would have realised this fact. They knew that there had been trouble and revolutionary activity in the Punjab, but Sir Charles Cleveland and other authorities had told them that it was due to the good sense, loyalty and sanity of the people of the Punjab that such revolutionary activity there had been frustrated. (Cheers.) Then how could the Government of the Punjab now say to the people of that province that their loyalty and sanity was so poor a thing that they could not be allowed with safety to listen to Mr. Tilak? (Laughter and cheers.) It was an insult to the people of the Punjab to say so. He (the speaker) said with the deepest conviction that if anything were calculated to strengthen the sanity and loyalty of the people of the Puujab against any revolutionary activities, it was to be found in the propaganda preached by Mr. Tilak of self-government within the Empire on the lines laid down by the National Congress (cheers), which when placed before the people in speeches of reasoned and logical argument was likely to have a far greater effect in persuading some of those misguided young men who were responsible for revolutionary activity in Bengal and the Punjab of the better course of working in a constitutional way for self-government under the aegis of the British flag than by all the repressive measures which they could go on passing for a hundred years. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Curtis is also at pains to relieve his official advisers and coadjutors from the inconvenient revelations contained in certain passages in his letter regarding their share in his education and his and their joint schemes, which we are afraid do not admit of any explaining away. According to his own account of himself, this reorganiser of Empire and his friends in England seem to have been supremely ignorant of the conditions relating to the most vital factor in their scheme, and Mr. Curtis himself came to India profoundly ignorant of this country and its political conditions, which he had left over as an afterthought to be airily disposed of after the rest of the Empire had been comfortably provided for. "The possibility that self-government was not an institution appropriate only to European communities," had not "occupied his thought,"—we quote his own words though our recollection of his published book does not quite agree. However that may be, such, as he says, was his state of ignorance. He goes on to say that "it was in discussion with the friends named (Meston, Marris and Chirol) that I was first persuaded that self-government was the aim to which British policy in India must be directed." This is a very charming and refreshing picture,—Sir James Meston, Sir Valentine Chirol and Mr. Marris, the colonial-born Inspector-General of Police, interceding with the makers of the new Empire on behalf of India. But on those who understand and are working for the realisaton of the legitimate aspirations of India and who know Sir Valentine Chirol and his official friends, and who, above all, have given careful consideration to the published result of their education of Mr. Curtis, it leaves only a cold impression. Mr. Curtis has been given the conventional official view as to India's fitness for self-government. That view, which he has unfortunately accepted, is that India possesses no sufficiently large and unified body of opinion which can be accepted as "the final criterion of Indian policy." The responsibility of final decision must be left therefore in official hands. which are to be considered as knowing better what is good for the people than their own kith and kin, and the day when it can be transferred from those hands to "a section of Indians sufficiently large, disinterested and capable of sound political judgment to assume it," is relegated to a time so remote that it is far outside the range of human vision. There can be no glossing over this acceptance by Mr. Curtis of this hopeless view of India's visible future and if this is the result of his official education in this country he

would have done better, for the sake of the problems which he feels himself called upon to tackle, to have stayed away.

Mr. Curtis unfortunately cannot exculpate his official friends so easily as this. His letter, he tells us, has been revised in detail by "Meston, Marris and Chirol" and "it may be taken as representing our joint view." Now, having regard to the entirely political and controversial character of the task on which Mr. Curtis is engaged, this is almost serious statement. We do not desire to take any polemical advantage of this revelation which it may not have been intended to justify. But as it stands, it suggests that Sir James Meston and Inspector-General Marris have not only been guilty of assisting, beyond the permissible limits of official courtesy, Mr. Curtis and Sir Valentine Chirol,—of all people,—in a political undertaking but, until some explanation is vouchsafed it suggests further that these two officials have gone so far as to assist Mr. Curtis in devising plans for the future control of India in its relation to the Empire as a whole with which they clearly ought not to have concerned themselves. It suggests, too, that they have not only agreed with him in arriving at conclusions on matters of political controversy with which they should have no concern but that they have aided and abetted him in laying plans for a scheme of Empire to be recommended to the people of the United Kingdom and the self-governing Dominions, which as Mr. Curtis himself sees, would provoke in India an agitation which would probably lead to bloodshed. The thing is almost inconceivable but it is there in black and white,—Sir James Meston, Mr. Marris, Sir Valentine Chirol and Mr. Curtis, sitting round a table like a quartette of Prussian professors or pan-Germanic generals and cold-bloodedly laying down the necessity of facing bloodshed in the interests of Empire "if it is thought right,"—not in the sense of British Imperialism or any of the ideals for which it stands, but for the establishment of dominion over an innocent people in which colonials who have consistently treated them with contempt and oppression will share.

We do not say this without having given the fullest consideration to the latter part of Mr. Curtis's letter. which we understand he now represents as having been intended to show that India cannot be treated on the lines that would provoke a bloody agitation. If he believes that it is because he has not thought the matter out competently or because he has unconsciously deceived himself in his anxiety to find the solution of the impossible problem which he has propounded, the effect either

way must be the same. He tells us that India in its domestic affairs must continue to be governed by officials, the rigidity of a bureaucratic system being mitigated only by the extent to which the Government can accept "such opinion as there is." All that he can allow, as regards the control of India in her external affairs by a reformed Imperial Government,—in which the self-governing Dominions are to have an equal voice with the United Kingdom,—to differentiate India from Central Africa is that Indian opinion shall be allowed to influence Imperial decisions to the same extent that it is being brought to bear on purely Indian decisions. That is all. If Mr. Curtis cannot realise that such a scheme of Imperial Government would provoke the agitation which he foresees must be faced if it is thought right to treat India like Central Africa, he has learnt nothing. He and his friends must understand clearly that no suspicion of colonial domination will be tolerated. It is not a question of hate. The blame for that is on the other side. It is because,—apart from all the considerations of right and justice involved,—even the patience of a notoriously patient people would inevitably rebel against the intolerable thought of being subjected in matters affecting their external affairs and status to the domination of other communities who treat them as inferiors and helots.

If we have misunderstood Mr. Curtis's letter in regard to the part that Sir James Meston and his other friends have played in helping his plans, we shall be very glad to hear it. The matter is far too grave not to wish that there may be some explanation, but the wording of his letter suggests the construction we have placed upon it, and it is clear that so far as these two officials are concerned the matter cannot rest where it is. Some explanation must be forthcoming, not merely from Mr. Curtis, but from Sir James Meston and Mr. Marris. As regards Mr. Curtis and his views and plans, there is a great deal more that will have to be said in order to counteract the mischief that he has done and is doing, and to rescue him if possible from the errors into which he has fallen.

MR. LIONEL CURTIS AND HIS MISSION.

WE have already indicated our position, and our views, with respect to Mr. Curtis's unfortunate and ill-conceived letter. We shall return in due course to a further consideration of the errors and fallacies with which his communication abounds. Meanwhile we would like to put some considerations before him, and the public, that have less to do with the merits of the prepossessions with which unluckily he appears to have been inoculated, than with the aim and purpose of the mission on which he was sent out to India, and the prospects of its adequate and faithful fulfilment. There can be no doubt that among those responsible and competent enquirers in England who, since the outbreak of the war, have been pursuing a serious and scientific investigation into the problems of the Empire, and its future reorganisation, the "Round Table Group," as they have come to be widely known, have earned a place of their own. The reputation they have won so far, apart from the precise or practical worth of the conclusions to which they have committed themselves in print, is that of earnest students, competently equipped for their difficult and important task, and with no axes to grind. Mr. Curtis, with the rest of his "Round Table" colleagues, fully enjoys that reputation in Great Britain. He was deputed to come out to India to enquire into and study what is admittedly the most difficult branch of the inter-Imperial investigation which the "Round Table Group" have undertaken. The problem of India is notorious for its complexity, and its solution, or partial solution, is, by general consent, one of the most difficult and complicated questions confronting British statesmanship to-day. To do Mr. Curtis justice, he is far too capable and intelligent a man, we believe, to have been likely to minimise the importance of either of these points. The task with which he has been entrusted is to find a way out of the maze: to make a just, practical and equitable contribution towards the settlement of this outstanding Imperial issue. Mr. Curtis was sent out to India, to see things for himself, to hear things for himself, to think things for himself, as an essential preliminary to forming certain conclusions for himself, of which, in due course, his colleagues might have the benefit, and which ultimately might assist the statesmen of the Empire to assign to India its proper place in the Imperial system on its adjust-

ment after the war. We have not disguised our opinion that Mr. Curtis got started on the wrong tack. It would perhaps be truer, if also more unkind, to say that Mr. Curtis has unwittingly lent himself to very clever exploitation. The last thing we wish for in this matter is mere polemics. If our description of the main objects of Mr. Curtis's mission in India is conceded to be fairly accurate, let us see how far he has progressed with it already and what are the prospects, on his present lines, of his eventual success in the task he has set himself.

Mr. Curtis's past activities, we understand, have lain in certain parts of the British Empire, but to India he was a stranger. Nevertheless he could not have been so ignorant of India when he set out on his errand as not to know that the Indian question, in a more literal sense than most questions, has two sides to it, which may, conveniently and not incorrectly, be called respectively the Indian and the Anglo-Indian,—the latter phrase we use, we need scarcely say, in the ordinary sense sanctioned by usage and not its new-fangled signification. It is meant to cover the whole of the British interests in India, embracing the bureaucracy that rules over India, as well as the hundred and one economic, commercial and political ties which bind the British community in India (and outside India, but having direct personal business or official relations with India) to India. Juxtaposed to this vast and all-pervading Anglo-Indian system is what may be called the Indian side of the case, representing the hopes, the aspirations and the economic, political and social interests of the indigenous population of the country. These two elements, have stood at a certain angle of relationship to each other ever since the Crown assumed control of the Government of India. There has never been, and there is not at the present time, any question of conflict between the two. But there is a question, which has become conspicuously emergent in recent years, and is clamouring for solution at the present moment, of a more equitable readjustment of the two elements in the national and political life of India. This is necessitated by a variety of considerations and circumstances. There is in the first place the sheer passage of time since the system that obtains to-day was designed. Then there are the profound and massive changes that have transpired not only in the life and thought of India, but of the world, during this period. The system and methods of Indian Government, *prima faciae*, have got to change, things have got to be brought more into conformity with the altered needs of the times. As it happens, the question is not a mere academic one.

Certain traditions have come into existence, certain interests have grown up, and any alteration of things as they are must imply, in some measure, a revision prejudicial to the power and the prestige of these interests. That is the point of clash. That is the bone of political contention. That, concisely, is the Indian problem as it stands out to-day.

Mr. Lionel Curtis was sent out to study that problem, to understand it, and to help by his considered suggestions towards its solution. On the face of it, if he was to acquit himself of his task with any degree of fidelity, and eventual success, it behoved him to avoid any hasty prepossession or partizanship, to be circumspect, fair-minded, observant, and above all, detached and impartial in the prosecution of his investigations in India. We would leave him to think over how far his movements and habits have approximated to these conditions during the course of his studies in this country. Meanwhile we will give him our own impressions. It is impossible for Mr. Curtis to understand the Indian problem with any degree of independence or insight on the present lines of his enquiry. As we have good reason to know that high expectations were entertained of him when he set out for India, by men of commanding weight and good-will in England, and as our own sentiments toward him, until the disclosure consequent upon the publication of his letter, were distinctly friendly, we do not wish to disguise from him that, in the light of that revelation, we are intensely disappointed with him and the manner in which he appears to have conceived the execution of his task. At the same time, knowing something of Indian conditions, and the peculiar difficulties that beset the path of the unwary stranger, such as he, embarked on an arduous quest, we can find it in us to sympathise with him. Not to put too fine a point on it, he has allowed himself to be captured by those who make a hobby and a profession in India of showing round inquisitive visitors like he. But he is not here on a pleasure trip. If Mr. Curtis has come here to see India and, among other things, understand the wishes, and feelings, and sentiments of the people of the country, he is not going to do it by a process of triumphal processions from Government House to Government House, nor by a system of conducted tours under the auspices of notorious partisans. There is a fundamental and glaring incongruity between Mr. Curtis's method and his mission. On the present basis, we may tell him, he is never likely to get to the heart of things in India: he will see what it is desired he should see, he will hear what he may, and like so many

others before him, he will go away with the conventional creed and clap-trap of his tutors firmly fixed in his mind and imagination. For the purposes of his present enquiry he might as well have stayed at home, for all the good it will do him or anybody else. We have spoken frankly because we think there is a chance even yet of his being extricated from the intellectual mire into which he has allowed himself to be dragged. Let us put it concretely to Mr. Curtis. From the standpoint of the unimpaired integrity of his mission, he was guilty of impropriety, and nothing less in consorting with such intimacy as is disclosed in his letter, with important and distinguished, but necessarily partial from the very circumstances of the case, officials of the Government. To take another case in point. It was announced in the newspapers the other day that Mr. Curtis intended to visit Mysore with Sir Valentine Chirol. If he wants to see something of the inner working of a progressive Native State, why can't he do it by himself? Why this permanent and ridiculous tutelage? He must *know* by now that, rightly or wrongly, Sir Valentine Chirol's continued presence in India is viewed with dislike and mistrust,—having regard to his past misrepresentations of India and Indians,—by the whole of the educated community in India. Why should he saddle himself with such objectionable associations, when it is imperative not only that he should be fair-minded but appear so as well to all observers? He has not come to India to take sides in this flaunting manner. Why then can he not have the courage to turn round and say to those who surround him with an unremitting surveillance that he would rather conduct his enquiries by himself?

MR. CURTIS'S FALLACIES.

I

MR. Lionel Curtis has shown in his letter to the Round Table Groups that he fully appreciates the gravity that attaches to his obtaining a full and correct appreciation of political conditions in this country before embarking on the final work of the appreciation of his new volume. He release that it is "the most delicate and thorniest of the aspects of the whole problem" of Imperial reconstruction, though he left its solution to the last and commenced his task in a state of complete

ignorance of it. One cannot help thinking that he and his friends would have been well advised to settle the question of India's place in a reconstructed Empire before they published any conclusions regarding the scheme, since it is quite certain that, if India, as Mr. Curtis already indicates, is unfit to have a place on *equal terms with the other great units* of the Empire, the only solution lies in an arrangement which would provoke such an agitation in this country as would probably lead to bloodshed. What is more important is that Mr. Curtis realises that, having so far "based our study of the relations of these countries on a preliminary field study of the countries concerned, conducted in close co-operation with people in those countries," "we have thus gained the confidence of a large number of readers who having no opportunity of checking our facts and observations. will take them more or less at face value." In fact, *to quote Mr. Curtis again, he and his friends have* "established a kind of credit which may now be either used or abused." We pointed out yesterday, that Mr. Curtis has not hitherto conducted his studies in this country in a manner which will satisfy public opinion here, at any rate, that the credit he has established is not being abused. It is not too late for him to change his method of procedure so as to have established confidence in the mind of India, when his volume appears, that he has observed and enquired and formed conclusions on data collected from every available source independently and without official tutelage. Mr. Curtis mentions in his letter that he has addressed and has been publicly questioned at meetings innumerable. Will he not try the experiment here of putting his views before public meetings and allowing his audiences the opportunity of interrogating him ? We make the suggestion in all good faith and can assure him that, in spite of the suspicion with which he is regarded on account of the views he has already expressed, he will receive the most respectful and courteous treatment from any Indian audience.

In the meanwile we may examine some of the conclusions he has already formed a little more closely. In the first part of his letter he lays down the view he has obtained or been given as to the present stage of political development in India. There is one matter in regard to which it would be well, however to have the ground clear. He declares at the outset that by the Round Table Scheme the people of the Dominions will *assume control of the future and fate of the peoples in the*

Empire who have not as yet attained to self-government. It is being represented, we believe, that he only proposes that this shall be so in regard to India's external affairs and that the second part of his letter in which he deals with the actual treatment of India in a reconstructed Empire makes this clear. We do not think so. He clearly predicates in the sentence quoted above and in another part of the letter that the new and reformed Imperial Government must control India and Central Africa both in their domestic and their external affairs. All he allows for India is that her position shall be mitigated, as compared with Central Africa, to the extent that such sections of public opinion as he admits to exist may be allowed to have an advisory voice, to be acted upon only where the Government thinks it sound. There can be no doubt, therefore, that Mr. Curtis is prepared, and thinks it feasible and right, to hand over the government of the people of this country both in their domestic and external affairs to a reformed Imperial Government in which the self-governing Dominions will be equally represented. We ask him again, as we asked him the other day, does he seriously suppose that the insignificant measure of advisory representation which he is willing to concede to India will in any way mitigate the horror with which the people of this country would regard the proposal of their domination by the Colonies, or avoid the agitation leading to bloodshed which he and his friends Meston, Maris and Chirol, hold must be faced if it is thought right? For ourselves, we regard the mere suggestion of such a policy in regard to this country as so appalling in the consequences that it would be likely to entail, that we feel that not a moment should be lost by the Imperial Government in publicly dissociating itself from sympathy with any such scheme and censuring the officials who have been involved in the discussion and preparation of it with Mr. Curtis.

But let us see the bases on which Mr. Curtis has arrived at the conclusion that it is not feasible for India to be admitted on equal terms to this reformed Imperial Government. He says that "the vast and varied and closely congested community of India,—how strongly these phrases savour of official tutelage,—contains small but important sections of opinion who can and do formulate opinions on political questions. But the opinion of these sections cannot be accepted as the final criterion of Indian policy if only because the sections in question are relatively too small. If the responsibility of final decision were committed to the

sections capable of forming an opinion, they could not discharge it. They could not themselves enforce their decisions on the overwhelming majority who would overpower them and we cannot enforce political decisions which are not ours. Indian opinion cannot rule India, at any rate until the Indians capable of forming such opinion are united, organized and numerous enough to exact regular, willing and continuous obedience from their fellow-countrymen, who have not as yet acquired the faculty of political judgment. This would be so if Indian opinion were really as sound and disinterested as our own now is, with all its conspicuous failures. Certainly it is not. It has to improve in quality as well as in quantity and it must be the first business of our Government to improve both."

A vast amount of political fallacy and mis-statement of actual facts is concentrated in this passage. And as usual certain premises are made to apply to India as precedent conditions for political freedom which are not and never have been applied to other countries. In the first place the allegation of the sectional character of educated public opinion in this country is unsustainable. The matter is hardly arguable. Mr. Curtis has himself now seen the National Congress in meeting assembled, as also the smaller but highly important assembly of the accredited representatives of the Moslem Community. It is impossible to deny the former any longer the character of an unofficial parliament of the educated community. It leaves us in no doubt, if we analyse the character of the assembly at Lucknow, of its wholly representative character. It is not merely an assembly of "small and important sections" but an assembly representative of every section of the educated community in every part of the country and representative of it as a whole. And having appointed its delegates to what may be called the inner cabinet, the latter was able to lay before the Congress a programme comprehensive and definite which secured its unanimous acquiescence. But, it will be said, the educated community of India itself is a very small percentage of the population. How can it claim to represent the people? As to that, of course, if people will persist in taking the view in this country, unlike all other countries at periods of their development when the educated community was in a minority, that the latter are not entitled to voice the views of the people as a whole or to lay down what is best for them in public polity, without condescending to examine the

patent facts, there is nothing that can be usefully discussed. But we suggest to Mr. Curtis, if he wants englightenment, the advisability of accompanying one or more of the popular leaders on a tour through any part of the country to ascertain how far they have the real people at their backs, and, provided there is no official intervention, he will be able to realise that these men possess both the adhesion and the sympathy of the masses. It was not merely the *intelligenzia* but the masses that came out to greet the President of the Congress at Lucknow and to give Mr. Tilak a triumphal reception both in Lucknow and Cawnpore.

MR. CURTIS'S FALLACIES.

II.

We have already pointed out the basic fallacy which Mr. Curtis accepts in his letter as to the character and extent of the existence of a national public opinion in India. So far from there being only "small but important sections" which are capable of forming opinions on political questions, there is, on the contrary, a solid unified body of public opinion representing the educated community of the country as a whole,—not scattered and sectional but co-related, co-ordinated, and not only with capacity for the fullest co-operation and joint expression and action but already organised for that purpose. Of course, as we have said, by shutting their eyes to facts, the bureaucracy can go on till doomsday declaring that this unified body of educated opinion, in agreement on practically all the political problems of the moment, has no right to speak in the name of the people of the country,—whose kith and kin, as Mr. Jinnah very pertinently reminded us, they are,—that their ends are purely selfish and that it is necessary, therefore, that the foreign bureaucracy should continue to stand as a bulwark between them and the masses whom they would exploit for class purposes. As to that it is easy for a man like Mr. Curtis, if he is inspired with a truly sincere desire to get at and judge for himself the actual conditions and facts to satisfy himself that the leaders of the educated community are in closer sympathy with the masses and understand their views and wants better than any foreigner can do. But, in any event, why should this

precedent condition to self-government be laid down in the case of India? Has not the educated community in all self-governing countries held at first the reins of power? Is it too much to say that India can provide electorates to-day fully as representative of the country as a whole as were the electorates, with their closely limited franchise, which returned members of Parliament after the great Reform Bill of 1832? A quarter of a century ago the late Robert Knight declared that the people of India were as fit then for self-government as the people of North America were a hundred years before when they achieved self-government. The statement was demonstrably true. How much more demonstrably true is it to-day!

As we have said, Mr. Curtis like all critics of the advocates of a definite scheme of reform in this country, which would transfer authority from an official oligarchy to the elected representatives of the people, lays down conditions which have never been made to apply in any other country. One of the favourite objections is the existence in India, in various parts of the country, of tribes still living in a semi-barbarous condition. If that were to be an accepted obstacle to self-government the civilised community in India would have to remain under the autocracy of the bureaucracy indefinitely. But it was not considered an obstacle in South Africa, where the existence of a huge semi-civilised black population, which has not been admitted to the franchise, was not considered an obstacle to the grant of self-government to the civilised white community; in Australia where, when self-government was granted there were large numbers of uncivilised aborigines still inhabiting those countries, or in Canada where there were the Red Indians. And in South Africa the uncivilised people, who are not admitted to any sort of share in the government of this so-called self-governing country, is as four to one in proportion to the civilised whites. Compare that with India where the semi-barbarous tribes are in an infinitesimal minority and widely scattered in small areas. It has never been suggested anywhere, in the case of white people, that they should wait for self-government until the uncivilised or semi-civilised populations caught them up in education or culture, and the agrument would hardly be worth consideration, if it were not that it is always trotted out in the case of India and that Mr. Curtis shows distinct signs of flirting with it.

Mr. Curtis's greatest fallacy, however, is the remarkable dictum that the responsibility of final decision cannot be placed in the hands of the educated community in this country because they would not be capable of "enforcing their decisions on the overwhelming majority who would overpower them." We leave aside for the moment the gratuitous character of the assumption that the decision of such an autonomous government as might be set up would be so obnoxious to the masses or the overwhelming majority. But how are decisions enforced? By the existence of the military power at the disposal of the State. Why should an autonomous government in India not have the support of that power? How are the decisions of the South African Government enforced upon the overwhelming majority of the coloured population but by the existence at its back of the Imperial power? Why should not India be entitled to the enjoyment of the same support, if she were autonomous, as is accorded to the self-governing dominions without question, especially since she has been and is paying more heavily than any other part of the Empire outside the United Kingdom for the maintenance of Imperial power? And what is more, the self-governing dominions have been able from their birth to enjoy the protection of that power very largely by reason of the wealth which Great Britain has drawn from India, and which she has used in turn to maintain a power that has enabled her to afford gratuitous protection to vast countries, far removed from her own shores, and under which those countries have alone been able to grow and develop. Mr. Curtis lays down the amazing dictum that the British Government could not enforce political decisions which were not theirs. If this principle had been followed in the development of the self-governing dominions they would never have been able to govern themselves. Has Mr. Curtis forgotten what happened in Natal 1906, to go no further back? Not only could the governments of the self-governing dominions not enforce their decisions on the overwhelming majority if they were left without the support of the Imperial power, but they might be incapable sometimes of enforcing them on minorities, if those minorities were, as they sometimes are, very large and powerful and the dividing line very thin. If you have a federation of self-governing units, where each contributes to the joint Imperial power, each individual unit exists and enjoys all the privileges of an independent and self-governing state by reason of the existence of the

Imperial power, which is at its disposal both for external protection and the enforcement of internal order. Surely it is not a want of clearity of thought and capacity for logical reasoning which induces Mr. Curtis suddenly to accept this novel doctrine, which he lays down for India as a reason for postponing indefinitely her right to the autonomy which the other units of the Empire enjoy ?

A HOT POTATO.

WE are glad to note, and indeed we cordially welcome, the anxiety evidenced in certain quarters to repudiate the suggestion contained in the letter of Mr. Lionel Curtis to place India under the dominance of a reformed Imperial Government in which the self-governing dominions would enjoy representation on equal terms with the United Kingdom. It is true that these hasty repudiations are combined with futile attempts to throw ridicule on those who have made a timely exposure of the conspirings that were afoot, but that need not lessen our appreciation of the fact that the production of the "blood and iron" programme in cold print has evoked in those quarters where those Empire-makers have, or had, influential friends a desire on the part of those friends speedily to wash their hands of any association with these sinister projects. It is all to the good that the "Madras Mail" and "The Times of India" dissociate themselves in the strongest terms from any sympathy with any project involving the subjection of India to a Colonialised Government. The "Madras Mail" holds, "as firmly as any Indian Nationalist," that to give the Dominions "a share in the control of Indian policy without simultaneously giving India a share in the control of the common Impeial policy would be intolerable," and it haughtily refuses to discuss a principle which is "so evidently right." "The Times of India," is equally emphatic. "Any idea," it says, "of the joint responsibility of the Dominions for the Government of India, until such times as India enters the Federated Empire on equal terms with all other constituents, and particularly before India has reached a full settlement regarding the status of India in the Dominions, is to our mind absolutely inconceivable."

That, as we have said, is all to the good. But the matter has assumed too much importance and gravity to enable us to rest content with the repudiation of Mr. Curtis by a couple of journals, which endea-

vour at the same time to exculpate him and his distinguished friends from the suspicion of harbouring any such intention. We have pointed out over and over again that there is no escape from Mr. Curtis's meaning or his categoric statement that his letter represents the views of "Meston, Marris and Chirol." The Madras paper complains of those who write "as if Mr. Lionel Curtis were the Round Table organisation." As a matter of fact he is the Round Table organisation. He is touring and studying as their accredited representative and the volume, the material for which is to be completed before he leaves India, will be accepted throughout the Empire as the Round Table view, which that organisation and its many powerful friends will do their best to get accepted by the British and Colonial electorates. If that is so and if we have, as we have, Mr. Curtis laying down, (1,) the premiss that India is unfitted for self-government or any sort of representation but the very limited advisory or consultative form which she at present enjoys, and, (2,) that his new and reformed Imperial Government must assume control of India in its internal and external affairs and let the Empire face the consequences,—he has been brought up in the "Damn the Consquences" school of Lord Milner,—it is childish to pretend that there is nothing to make a fuss about and no need for apprehension. We have never suggested, nor has anyone else, as far as we are aware, that this scheme of Colonial domination over India "lurks in the bosom of any responsible Minister of the Crown, or in the minds of the King's vicegerent in India and his Council," as the "Times of India" has it. In fact, we are prepared to go further than our contemporary, which curiously enough says it writes "subject to correction," when expressing the belief that no such idea has ever been adumbrated by the Government. We are prepared to say that without any fear of any possibility of correction. But this old ruse of contradicting something that nobody has ever said in order to divert attention from the actual facts really will not do. The fact is that Mr. Curtis has enjoyed an amount of official hospitality and assistance in this country that has exceeded the limits of what official courtesy demands. The Lientenant-Governor of the Province, his Inspector-General of Police and a notorious protagonist of reactionaryism and repression sit down with Mr. Curtis to settle a letter, in which his and their views are set forth, not merely adumbrating such a scheme but actually outlining it as the right and only policy, and the letter is then handed over to the Government Press for printing.

That does not implicate the Government of India, or the Viceroy or anybody else but Sir James Meston and Mr. Marris, but it implicates them in such a way that wherever Mr. Curtis now goes in this country suspicion will be cast on those who afford him official hospitality. But however that may be Sir James Meston and Mr. Marris must be called to account for this intermeddling with dangerous political schemes for the future governance of India, schemes which, as they foresee, may provoke an agitation leading to bloodshed. And a most uncomfortable impression will be left on the public mind unless the Government of India publicly repudiates them, not because the public will suppose thereby that the Government of India has itself been flirting with schemes of this sort, or would have anything to do with them, but because it would be astonishing and deplorable if the Indian public were again to be allowed to suppose, as unfortunately they have been allowed to suppose in some notorious instances that officials can pull the political strings from behind the scenes with impunity, and that there is no protection for the people from officials who mix themselves up with political schemes for the repression of Indian aspirations, even when the exposure is as glaring as in the present instance.

We must protest finally against the attempt to cast the responsibility for any bitterness of feeling that may have been created by recent controversies on the shoulders of India. We do not suppose that there is a single Indian who has not welcomed and responded in his heart to the genuine cordiality of the messages which have reached the Viceroy during the last few days from Canada and Australia. We believe that there is no country in the world where there could be so little bitterness remaining among the people after the events of the last few years. It is monstrous to say that anyone has been "hurling abuse at the Dominions." Indians are only too ready for a rapproachment between this country and the Dominions, and they recognise that in the Dominions at least, there is evidence of a genuine change in the angle of vision. It is the interfering friends, who have their own axes to grind and their own interests to serve, that are to be feared. On the day when India stands face to face with the Dominions as an equal partner in the Imperial Council Chamber and can fight for her own causes without the help of these intermediaries, there will be little likelihood of her being unable to settle all differences with equal consideration for her own self-

respect and the legitimate claims of her partners in the Empire. Indians do not want to dictate to or threaten the Dominions, as it is suggested, but they want their rights, and it is useless to ask them to enter into any sort of discussion which does not prescribe that as the essential requirement of a settlement.

THE "INTOLERABLE" PROPOSAL.

UNDER the heading of "The Great Delusion," the "Madras Mail" enters upon a laboured defence of Mr. Lionel Curtis and his friends and the Round Table organisation against what it describes as "an extraordinary outburst of misrepresentation." It is at pains to inform its readers that this is not a question of defending Mr. Curtis personally, that it has not been briefed by Mr. Curtis and that it is not tied to the Round Table. It is moved by its own virtuous indignation and its desire to check what "is becoming a very gross political scandal," to repudiate "the utterly unfounded belief, if indeed it be a belief and not a malignant affectation that the Dominions are conspiring to hold down India," and to defend distinguished British officials in this country who "are being brought into hatred on the ground that they are privy to the sinister designs imputed to the Round Table organisation." At the same time, it is not uninteresting to observe that the publication of the article follows closely on the arrival of Mr. Lionel Curtis in Madras. However, it does not matter to us or any one else whether the "Madras Mail" has been briefed by anyone or not, or whether its undertaking to clear Mr. Curtis and his friends from the indictment that has been laid against them is born of its own ineptitude. The point is that it not only misrepresents Mr. Curtis's critics but Mr. Curtis's own views and positions. As to the former, we are not very much concerned. No one, as far as we are aware, has accused the Dominions of conspiring to hold down India nor has anyone done anything to bring distinguished officials in this country into hatred. All that is beside the point and mere prejudice. Certain persons in the United Kingdom and the Dominions have formed themselves into an organisation which has for its object the solution of the

great Imperial problem of how the different self-governing parts of the Empire are to be federated into an Imperial Union. Mr. Curtis comes to India to study the problem in relation to its Indian aspect. He writes a letter in which he states certain conclusions that he has formed and he also states that certain distinguished officials have given him their assistance in his studies and that the letter represents his and their joint views. Those views prescribe for the reformed Imperial Government which he proposes, as regards the future Government of India, a system which the "Madras Mail" itself has told us would be intolerable. Are people in this country to hold their peace in the face of this for fear of "hampering the most patient and impartial enquiry ever undertaken into the highly important question of what India's place in the new Empire should be?" We want to hamper an enquiry conducted on these lines,—on the assumption that India is to be subordinated or subjected to the Dominions. The "Madras Mail" has agreed that it would be intolerable. If, therefore, those responsible for the endeavour to bring about such an agreement are hotly criticised and distinguished officials are censured for mixing themselves up in such business, it is absurd to talk about these distinguished officials being brought into hatred and the necessity for checking a campaign described as "a gross political scandal," as if the critics of what these officials have done and not themselves, were to blame for the public opprobrium they have rightly earned. If there has been any misrepresentation of Mr. Curtis and his official friends, it is open to them to say so, but they have preferred till now to remain silent.

Now what does the "Madras Mail's" defence of Mr. Curtis and his friends amount to? The matter can be very briefly disposed of. It tells us that the task on which Mr. Curtis is engaged begins and ends with the question, as stated in the preface of his book, "How a British citizen can acquire the same control of foreign policy as anyone domiciled in the British Isles." His book, we are told further, deals only with this aspect of the problem and it is further expressly limited to the Dominions, India being left for a subsequent report. Then we have a quotation from the book to show us that Mr. Curtis recognises that the peoples of India and Egypt must be "gradually schooled to the management of their own affairs"; then another quotation to show us that he appreciates that "not India alone but the whole Empire will suffer" unless such men as there are in India fit to be consulted are consulted

and attention paid to their views. In fact, "Mr. Curtis believes in the gradual advancement of India towards self-government and towards participation in the task of shaping Imperial policy." "He is now engaged in collecting the facts and opinions, which critically sifted with the aid of fellow-workers," will enable him to answer the question as to how "leading citizens in India, who now stand on an equal footing with Europeans, are to make their voices heard in their own Governments and in that of the Commonwealth." "To charge the man engaged in that work with the miserable and futile purpose of subjecting India to the tyranny of the Dominions," we are told, "is ridiculous." Finally, says the "Mail."

"So far as we have been able to acquaint ourselves with the position taken up by Mr. Curtis, it is simply this. He sees (1) the necessity of enabling the Dominions to share in the control of foreign policy, with which must obviously go defence, (2) the impossibility of at once giving India as much self-government as, say, Australia has, (3) the desirability and duty of giving her an increasing measure of self-government and of allowing all Indians educationally fitted for the task to have a voice also in Imperial affairs, (4) the grave practical objections to any scheme which, professing to give the Dominions a share in controlling the Empire's foreign policy and defence, excluded from their veiw India, important as she is in both foreign policy and defence. He concludes that India cannot be kept out of the control exercised by Great Briain and the Dominions, jointly over foreign policy and defence. But since she would object to such control without any share of her own in managing Imperial affairs, and since the idea at the root of British Imperailism condemns the continual subjection of any part of the Empire containing men, few though they be, capable of rule, India too must exercise, through this increasing minority, her influence on Impeial policy."

Now let us state the real facts. It is almost incredible that the author of this defence can have read the chapter in Mr. Curtis's book which is referred to, or that he has ever seen the now famous letter to Mr. Kerr, which is conveniently left out of account, and that he has not been provided merely with a few suitable quotations for the purpose of throwing dust in the eyes of the public. In his book Mr. Curtis

says emphatically that "a British citizen in the Dominions cannot be made responsible for the affairs of the Commonwealth without also becoming responsible for the government of the subject peoples (that includes India as the context shows), and sharing in the long and difficult task of training those peoples to govern themselves." He puts the matter still more emphatically in his letter. He says "our new and reformed Imperial Government must control India and Central Africa, (a) in their domestic affairs, (b) in their external affairs." The only relief from absolute domination that he allows is that "small but important sections who can and do formulate opinions on political questions" shall be allowed an advisory voice in their own domestic concerns as well as in Imperial matters. In fact, Indian opinion in "our new and reformed Imperial Government" will have just as much weight and influence, or just as little, as it has at present in the government and administration of this country. In the meanwhile the new Imperial Government, in which the Dominions will enjoy an equal status with the United Kingdom, will govern India, stopping to listen with due courtesy now and then to what India may have to say or what a few selected Indians may have to say, and will engage themselves in the noble "spiritual" task of training the people of India for self-government, *the day of achievement of* which, in Mr. Curtis's view, is too remote to be envisaged. Now can this scheme by any stretch of imagination be said to provide for giving India a share in the *control* of the common Imperial policy? Not by those who know the meaning of words, or who have understood in the least what Mr. Curtis means. And yet the "Madras Mail," which seeks to defend and justify Mr. Curtis, only a few days ago told us that to give the Dominions "a share in the control of Indian policy without simultaneously giving India a share in the *control* of the common Imperial policy would be intolerable, and it announced its refusal to discuss a principle which is "so evidently right."

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breach as much of the covenants as of the traditions which are behind the system of Indian Government. If, on the other hand, Mr. Curtis's statement was unfounded, he should have been instantly and publicly disowned and repudiated. In any event, in view of Mr. Curtis's clear and circumstantial allegation, an explanation was called for. and none has so far been forthcoming. The matter, of course, cannot possibly be allowed to rest there. The people of India must have an assurance that those who, under the authority of the Sovereign and of the Supreme Government, are set above them as rulers and administrators will not simultaneously be occupied in an active conspiracy to impair their constitutional status and frustrate their political development. Mr. Curtis, of course, can please himself. He has grossly discredited the "Round Table" movement in India, as we know, and in making a mess of his mission he has, we fear, seriously impaired if he has not altogether destroyed the utility of a great enquiry which had all over the Empire been accorded a warm and respectful welcome. Such are the penalties of incompetence in important positions. But Mr. Curtis, all the same, is a free agent: his reckoning will lie with his employers, and the public is interested in his activities only to the extent of their actual and potential influence on its own interests. But Sir James Meston and Mr. Marris, as we have pointed out, are in a different category. By every standard and test that holds in this matter, they cannot very well reconcile their Lieutenant-Governorship and Inspector-Generalship, respectively, with the function of advisers and abettors of Mr. Lionel Curtis. It is, doubtless, from their point of view unfortunate that their prolonged participation in the scheme should have been prematurely revealed, but from the public point of view the disclousre is all to the good. And that circumstance does not make it less but more exceptionable. How far these Government officials had allowed themselves to drift into the wrong habit of mind, and to forget their responsibilities, is curiously reflected in a significant but otherwise inconspicuous fact. In the latest number of "Round Table," as in previous issues we believe. appears the name of "W. S. Marris, Esq., C.I.E., c/o Secretariat, Lucknow, U. P.," as its representative in India. This is a very unconventional role, to say the least, to be filled by the Inspector-General of Police of an Indian Province, and the situation is not improved from the point of view of the public by the fact that

been delivered in the local Legislative Council by Sir James Meston and Mr. Marris. Sir James Meston has explained at great length that Mr. Lionel Curtis came to India for study and he has given us the story of the Round Table and Mr. Curtis's connection with it, more or less in the terms that we have heard before. Let us say at once that we know all about the Round Table and all about Mr. Lionel Curtis and we stand in no need of these lectures, and that laboured attempts to persuade the public in this country that Mr. Curtis is not engaged in political propaganda are useless. "The Round Table," says the Hon. Mr. Marris, "is not conducting and never has conducted political propaganda." It is quite evident that Mr. Marris does not know the meaning of the words he uses or he would not have made such a ridiculous and unsustainable statement.

What is the Round Table doing and what is Mr. Curtis doing? They have a certain policy in regard to Imperial federation. They believe in it and they are trying to push it. Whether they do it by writing articles or inviting people to sit in groups, round tables or on a tub cannot make the slightest difference to the fact that they are engaged in politics. All this talk about the open mind and people hammering out in groups a solution of the problems which face us is beside the point. The Round Table has a policy, Mr. Curtis has a policy. And he is here not to discover whether that policy is the right one or not, because he is convinced that it is the only policy that will ultimately save the Empire for the benefit of humanity. He has come here to try and persuade people in this country that his policy *is* the right policy and the only policy and to find a way if he can of making it acceptable to India. That is what we call political propaganda, with which officials like Sir James Meston and Mr. Marris had no business to concern themselves, the more especially since Mr. Curtis's policy, with which Sir James Meston and Mr. Marris agree, involves consequences as far as India is concerned which are highly repugnant to the people of India, a fact which Sir James Meston and Mr. Marris ought to have realised, even if they were blind to the moral iniquity of the proposal to allow the self-governing Dominions any share in the control of the affairs of India without allowing India an equal share in the control of the affairs of the self-governing Dominions. Mr. Curtis stands revealed in his letter. and not only Mr. Curtis but the Round Table and Sir James Meston and Mr. Marris.

That letter reveals that Mr. Curtis is not acting or speaking for himself alone as an individual and independent student,—as his friends would have as believe. It shows that he is the agent and the mouthpiece of an orgnaisation, which we call political; and we shall be obliged to hold to that whatever Mr. Curtis and his friends may say. He writes of a policy and a scheme and while he keeps to the first person singular when he is talking about his plans for his tour in India, he uses the first person plural when he is talking of the scheme for the reconstruction of the Empire, meaning thus not Mr. Lionel Curtis but the Round Table organisation, who are fully agreed as to the end they are trying to achieve and only searching for means to fit India in. Mr. Curtis's friends are very insistent on the contention that the whole of the second part of his letter is an argument to show that it would be wrong to treat India on the same plane as Central Africa. No argument is needed for that; it is axiomatic. The letter, briefly, consists of three things. First, that India is not fit for self-government; second, that the reformed Imperial Government must control India externally and internally; and, third, of an argument to the effect that if India were treated like Central Africa, it would lead to bloodshed, and therefore India had better be allowed an advisory voice in the Imperial Government to the same extent as she has now in her own affairs. Thus, in the scheme which Mr. Curtis is trying to push forward, India would have only a small advisory voice in the affairs of India, without any means of enforcing her views, while the Self-Governing Dominions would have a controlling and executive voice in the affairs of India. That is what may be legitimately called approximately putting India under the domination of the Colonies. That, as we have said, would be equally calculated to provoke bloodshed. In lending their assistance to Mr. Curtis in any way whatsoever, in his propaganda, Sir James Meston and Mr. Marris were thus not only mixing themselves up in a political movement, but one which should not be regarded by any true friend of India as other than an outrage on the sentiments of the people of this country.

When, therefore, Sir James Meston tells us that the Government of India, "in view of the misunderstanding that has arisen," accepts the opinion which considers that officials should not in future be members of the Round Table groups in India, we beg leave to tell him and the Govern-

ment of India, with all respect, that, while we are glad to learn that this scandal is to be brought to an end, there has been no misunderstanding at all, and that it would have been better if the Government of India had spared themselves the effort to save the face of Sir James Meston and let the public know without any qualification at all, that they disapprove, as we are sure they do, of officials taking part in, or associating themselves in any way with, movements of this character. We will just put one question to Mr. Marris who speaks as though he were an aggrieved party. Supposing someone had come to India to propagate a scheme for the reconstruction of the Empire which involved the granting of Home Rule to India, and it had been discovered that one of Mr. Marris's official colleagues had been collaborating with this person in forming study groups with the object of imposing that policy on the country and the Empire. Would Mr. Marris have thought that the conduct of his colleague was not a grave offence against official decorum ?

CO-OPERATION AND TRUST

WE cannot conceive that the sort of speech which Lord Chelmsford delivered in closing the sessions of the Imperial Council on Friday last, is calculated to bring the Government of India any nearer towards the enjoyment of the confidence of the non-official members to whom his appeal was made. "Fair words butter no parsnips" is the old wives' saying in England and these appeals for the trust of the non-official community are useless, unless accompanied by some practical manifestation of the intention of the Government to trust the people and to translate their smooth assurances into some sort of action, however limited. It is an old story. "With all the earnestness in my power," said his Excellency, "I would ask Hon. Members to think them over and decide whether they do not see their way clear to co-operating with the Government of India bringing about such a consummation." Just as Lord Willingdon is apparently unable to realise when he appeals to the non-official members of his Council, who have been waiting for the realisation of official

promises in regard to local self-government for 30 years, to wait yet again for the result of some new official enquiry into the desirability of reform, that they are listening to an oft-repeated demand, so the Viceroy must be in ignorance that when he appeals for co-operation and patience until Government have had time to look around them and see how pressing problems should be settled, the non-official members of his Council are listening once again to the old, old sory that leads us nowhere.

Not that we have any reason to think that the Government of Lord Chelmsford will not be accorded all the co-operation they need or can ask for in achieving the consummation of which he particularly spoke in the passage we have quoted. His optimism in regard to the financial future is a little dangerous. Nobody can venture to prophesy with such assurance in India, where the prosperity of the year, and perhaps of a series of years, may depend on the fortune of the monsoon. But everybody has welcomed the enterprise with which the Finance Minister has broken new ground, has established the principle, as we hope and believe once and for all, of India's right to consider her own interests first in her fiscal arrangements, and has paved the way for that expansion of the revenues of which the Viceroy speaks so hopefully. The appeal for co-operation in this direction seems superfluous, especially since the Viceroy's speech opened with a frank acknowledgement of the co-operation of the Council in the taking of a step of momentous character in regard to which the latter might well have claimed to have been previously consulted. But it is the general tone of utterances of this character, with which the public in this country are unduly familiar, that is calculated to create resentment. There is no lack of desire to co-operate. That has been evidenced over and over again. It is the opportunity that lacks and the perpetual signs of want of trust that embitter. It is useless to ask people to dismiss from their minds the suspicions entertained with regard to the attitude of the Government of India in the matter of the Defence Force. We have expressed the opinion very strongly that no amount of suspicion or irritation should prevent Indians from accepting the opportunity that is at last offered them of enlisting for the service of their country. But we cannot be blind to the ineptitude,—to use a very mild expression,—of the Government in refusing to accord them conditions of the fullest self-respect, when they are asked to form volunteer corps of their own.

The contradictory announcements in this matter and the failure of the Government hitherto to satisfy the natural aspirations, and indeed the actual rights of Indians, certainly have created suspicion and were calculated to create suspicion. Sir Charles Munro gave a very clear indication that the Defence Force now to be raised would form the basis of a territorial army for internal defence after the war, and we were assured that there was to be no discrimination between the two classes of units. Whatever he may have meant, that is what he said and what was universally understood. Now we have a blank refusal to place Indians on equal terms in the matter of commissions while everything else is undefined. And Lord Chelmsford says that "in the new Indian Defence Force raised temporarily under the stress of war there *may* lie the germs of such a new second line." Why should the Government be in any difficulty about making a clear statement on the matter? "Do not ask us," says his Excellency, "at such a moment as this to give answers to problems which will have to be solved at a time when there is more leisure." Frankly we cannot see the difficulty of these problems or why the particular problems which confront the Government in regard to the present Defence Force have not already been solved. We have never yet had any attempt to give a straightforward answer to the demand for commissions for Indians. We say deliberately that public opinion, not only in this country, but in England is in favour of the concession and we believe that if a resolution were submitted to-morrow in the House of Commons in favour of this obvious right to Indians in their own army and especially in a volunteer force for internal defence, it would be carried. What is it that stands in the way? What is the difficulty? These are insistent questions and until Lord Chelmsford can offer some better reason for their being shelved than his jejune appeal for co-operation in postponing their solution and for co-operation in the continuance of what every Indian honestly and naturally regards as a grave injustice people will go on asking for the answer. If there is to be co-operation, let us repeat, there must be trust. And the refusal to give Indians commissions in their own volunteer corps, as member after member in the Imperial Council has said, is taken as the sign of distrust.

LORD CARMICHAEL.

ON Monday Lord Carmichael, who to-morrow leaves the shores of India for England, handed over charge of the Governorship of Bengal to the Earl of Ronaldshay and left Calcutta amid the genuine demonstrations of regret of the public of the capital of the province over which he has been a sort of chained autocrat for the past five years. It is undoubted that these public demonstrations were representative of the feelings of the people of the province as a whole towards the departing Governor. But it would be folly to pretend that they indicate in any degree approval of, or satisfaction with the administration for which Lord Carmichael has been responsible. Lord Carmichael followed in Bengal a series of Lieutenant-Governors of the official type who were unversed in the ways and perhaps indifferent to the needs of winning the hearts of the people over whom they were set to rule. Lord Carmichael possesses in a peculiar degree the capacity of capturing the hearts of others and this "proves," in the words of a Bengali journal, which well illustrate the psychology of the Bengali people, "that he has a beautiful heart himself." Innocent of the arts of diplomacy, frank and open in his dealings and his conversation to a fault, he is incapable of making an enemy and to know him is to like and even to love him for his genuinely sympathetic character. Official reserve or pride of place is absolutely foreign to his nature and those who have come in contact with him have felt not only that they could, but almost that they must, speak to him with the freedom of a friend. Bengal had been suffering for nearly a decade from a very different sort of ruler. The experience had been one of almost unrelieved monotony of severity, disapproval and suspicion. It is small wonder then that Lord Carmichael, who brought with him a fresh and a sweeter atmosphere, quickly won the affection of the people which he has never lost.

But if we turn from Lord Carmichael the man to Lord Carmichael the Governor and Administrator, we find a contrast. Lord Carmichael was brought to Bengal in the hope that his sympathetic tendencies would allay the irritation provoked by the Partition, and the rigorous

regime of repression that followed that measure, and pacify the province. It cannot be said that his Governorship has contributed greatly to that end. The very different public mood which followed on the appointment of Lord Carmichael was due to causes other than any for which he was reponsible. The revocation of the Partition and the confidence and hope in the future aroused by the King's visit and the royal utterances were the immediate causes of a revulsion of feeling that left Bengal even to this day, a very peaceful province compared to its state during the seven years prior to Lord Carmichael's advent. The feature of Lord Carmichael's term of office has been a hardening rather than the relaxation of official severity and bureaucratic control that was hoped for, and a gradual change from the elated hopes born of the King's visit to a feeling of sullen discontent and suspicion of the administration. Those who have followed the course of events in Bengal during the past five years are well aware of the series of administrative acts that have intensified the bureaucratic hold on the Government of the province and of which whether they emanated from the Government of India or were the work of his own officials, Lord Carmichael has been something in the nature of a helpless spectator. Perhaps, if Lord Carmichael could have begun and continued with a cabinet of administrators possessing his own sympathetic outlook and statesmanlike appreciation of the need for trust in the people, Bengal would present to-day a very different picture from what it does. We say this, because Lord Carmichael more than once in his public utterances has shown that he has diagnosed the ills from which the people, and especially the younger generation, of Bengal are suffering in a more aggravated form than those of the rest of India, but at first, as is generally believed, an unwilling administrator of the repressive measures forced upon him, he seems of late to have become a convert to their efficacy.

The result is that to-day something like eight hundred young men of the province are buried in its jails or interned without having been brought to trial, the evidence on which they are imprisoned or detained having been prepared by a police whose reputation is none too good and untested by any of the legal forms in the absence of which no evidence deserves to be acted upon. It is, to our mind, one of the most painful features of the present tendencies in India that these measures should have been publicly supported by a Governor who was appointed for his

sympathy and liberalism. Lord Carmichael, however, is unfortunately not a solitary example in India to-day of the painful effects, even upon Liberal statesmen, of bureaucratic association and pressure. But now that Lord Carmichael is going to England where his influence in Indian affairs may count for much, we would ask whether it is not worth while considering if the repressive measures which, to quote the words of a Calcutta journal that has its finger on the pulse of the people in Bengal, have produced a "volume and intensity of seething discontent in Bengal," are not an indication of the exhaustion of the present system of administration in this county, and whether it would not be better to replace them by the immediate introduction of the obvious remedies for the disease which he has himself diagnosed.

AN OBSOLETE REPORT.

INTEREST in the Report of the Public Services Commission which was published yesterday is very largely discounted by the length of time, not only since the Commission was appointed,—nearly four years-and-a-half,—but since the Report was signed,—a year and-a-half. It will be remembered that it was decided at first, in view of the controversies which the recommendations of the Commission were likely to arouse, to defer the publication until after the war. We hold, as our readers are aware, that it would have been better to have adhered to this decision in order that the discusssion of the Report and its consideration by Government could have proceeded side by side with the very much larger questions which will have to be considered and discussed at the conclusion of the war,—questions the nature of which is likely greatly to overshadow this Report of a Commission which has been rendered largely obsolete by the great changes in the angle of vision which the stirring events of the last two-and-a-half years have brought about. There have been many sneers at the idea of a changed angle of vision of late, and men of the Sydenhan school of Indian politics would have us believe, not merely that it is a chimera of the imagination, but that, if

it existed at all, it would be a grave danger to India and the Empire. But we believe, it still exists in England and it certainly exists in this country which is the most important thing. And it is interesting to note that to-day we are asked to believe that it has undoubtedly changed in the case of Lord Ronaldshay, one of the Commissioners and now the Governor-designate of Bengal.

These considerations not only rob the Report of most of its interest, but also of the importance which might otherwise have attached to it. Let us take the questions submitted to the Commission to which Indian public opinion attaches the chief importance: First there is the question of simultaneous examinations. That is a subject on which Indian opinion is practically unanimous and in regard to which there is very strong feeling. Indians have agitated for this change for the last thirty years or more and as long ago as 1893 the House of Commons passed a resolution in favour of it. It seems the very minimum of what, by natural right, should be conceded to the people of this country. Yet we find the Public Services Commission rejecting it in favour of a tortuous scheme which is designed to reserve 25 per cent. of the appointments in the higher service to Indians. It is to remain a privilege and not a right for the Indian to be allowed, or to be able, to enter the higher Civil Service of his own country. If he cannot afford to travel seven thousand miles to compete in an examination in England he is to be dependent on a system, partly selection, partly nomination and partly competition in India; and the number of posts reserved for this hybrid scheme in India is nine per annum. Does anyone expect that a proposal of this character will be received with anything but resentment and derision at this time of day, when public opinion has passed from the discussion of whether Indians shall be allowed to occupy a few more of the higher posts in their own country to the discussion of self-government as a living and practical issue? Take next the question of the reform of the judiciary in the direction of manning it with trained lawyers instead of officials who at an early age go straight from executive training to a bench where they sit as a court of appeal,—the question which is so ably and so convincingly dealt with by Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim in his minute of dissent. The Commissioners propose that out of 173 superior appointments 40 should be made from the ranks of the legal profession in India. What sort of an impression is this slight alleviation going to make on a system,

which, as Mr. Abdur Rahim says, is excessively costly and provides us with judges who are not trained lawyers and suffer from all the deficiencies which that fact involves. Then again there is the question of the combination of Judicial and Executive functions, a long standing and crying evil which the Government of India itself has admitted and which is only attempted to be justified by the most specious arguments. The Commissioners actually put it on one side and decline to form any conclusions upon it. These are the leading features of a Report which we believe will be regarded with disgust by the bulk of responsible, educated opinion in this country.

Again it has to be remembered that the Commission contained, in a membership of twelve, only three Indians, another fact that deprives its decisions of respect in the eyes of the people of the country, who will reasonably feel that questions which concern them primarily and more closely than anyone else, have been decided by foreigners who cannot be expected to see the Indian point of veiw as it should be looked at, and do not pretend to have dealt with the problems they were asked to solve with a single eye to Indian interests, which is all that Indians can be expected to concern themselves with. And of the three Indians, one of them, who could claim to represent Indian views more strongly than any other member of the Commission, and who would have disagreed with the whole Report, died before the final draft was complete and another is an executive official. Thus the only Indian member left who could be expected to give a free and impartial opinion and form his conclusions with a sole regard to Indian interests, is entirely out of agreement with the rest of the members. Such a retrograde report, coming with such credentials, cannot be accepted by Indian public opinion which has travelled far beyond even the points of view which it presented before the Commission two and three years ago, and which the Commission has ignored. It will have to be shelved and all these questions approached from a new standpoint.

THE SHAME THAT MUST BE ENDED.

DURING the week-end two very impressive demonstrations on the subject of indentured labour in the Colonies have been held in Bombay. The speeches at both were much the same in effect and the resolutions passed were almost identical. Each, however, though the object was the same, had its own individuality and special significance. At the Excelsior Theatre, on Friday night, the audience, large and enthusiastic as it was, was confined to English-knowing people and the speeches were all in the English tongue. The open-air meeting held at Girgaum last evening under the auspices of the Home Rule League was of a more widely popular character, the speeches were mostly in the vernacular and the audience numbered over ten thousand persons of every class and creed. The impression left on the mind of those who attended both these meetings is the depth of feeling which animates every phase of Indian society in regard to this question. The speeches at the meeting at the Excelsior Theatre were, if anything, more passionate in tone, and the feeling evinced by the audience not less intense, than at the greater open-air meeting; and to clinch the assurance of the unanimity of sentiment on the matter we need only quote the names of a few of those who were present at either meeting or wrote expressing sympathy with its objects. These included Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Sir Narayan Chandavarker, who spoke with burning eloquence in passionate protest against the continuance of this scandal so dishonouring to India and the Empire at large, the Rev. Dr. Machican, who was not less emphatic in his sympathy and condemnation, Lady Mehta and Lady Jagmohandas, Mr. T. W. Birkett, who wrote a letter of sympathy, Sir Stanley Reed, the President of the Anjuman Islam, Mr. Haji Yusuf Sobani, Mr. M. K. Gandhi and Mr. B. G. Tilak. We cannot believe that the significance of such a unanimous demonstration of public feeling will be lost on the Government of Lord Chelmsford and that they will fail to impress on the Government at Home that it is essential that the present system be immediately and wholly abolished. A people cannot be expected, even in the midst of a great war,—far less so,—to make compromise with their honour.

And what reason is there that they should be asked to do so? Nearly a year has passed since Lord Hardinge, while explaining that it would be necessary to give the colonial governments and the interests concerned time to make their arrangements in order that their industries should not be dislocated, promised that the system was "soon to be removed for ever." Eighteen months have passed since the Government of India addressed their despatch to the Secretary of State recommending the abolition of the system. What is the meaning of the word "soon"? Did it mean that after cogitating over the matter for a year, or really for eighteen months, the Government of India were to enter into negotiations for the continuance of the system for another five years, as far as they are concerned, and meaning ten years in actual fact? That at any rate, is not the sense in which the people of this country understood Lord Hardinge's pledge. And while we accept Lord Chelmsford's assurance that the Government of India have not been sleeping over their pledges, we do charge them, in the light of the Viceroy's profoundly disappointing pronouncement on Wednesday last, with having been weak and yielding in the face of the endeavours made on behalf of vested interests to delay the fulfilment of their pledges. As Mr. Polak put it very tellingly on Friday, the onus lay upon the colonial governments and the interests which they represent to put their house in order and to devise an alternative scheme which would be consistent with the requirements of Indian sentiment, Indian honour and the dictates of our common humanity. If they have not done so in the ample time that has been at their disposal they must bear the consequences. And the consequences are not so dreadful. An attempt has been made, we believe, in certain quarters to represent that the sudden abolition of the system would gravely affect economic conditions in England by causing a further rise in the price of sugar which is already very high, and that, therefore, the public in this country by agitating for abolition now would be embarrassing the Empire. That, in any case, would not be a clean argument to address to the people of this country in this matter, but to those who take the trouble to think for a moment it appears as a dishonest argument. Immediate abolition should no more dislocate the sugar industries of Fiji and the other colonies than it did in the case of Natal. It would take some time for the shortage of indentured labour to make itself felt in the

tending emigrants in their own mother tongues the nature of the contract to be entered into by them. There should be no difficulty in enforcing this last requirement, nor should there be any difficulty in the way of Government in meeting the other demands. Lord Chelmsford's statement on Wednesday showed, as "The Times of India" remarks, that his Excellency had not appreciated the real Indian sentiment in this matter. The public demonstrations held in Bombay and elsewhere should bring that home to him and we have no doubt whatever that, when he does appreciate it and has taken into consideration the whole of the circumstances, Lord Chelmsford will whole-heartedly support, as we feel sure Lord Hardinge would have done, the present Indian demands.

"ABOLISH INDENTURED LABOUR."

The Bombay Town Hall was crowded to its utmost capacity on the occasion of the public meeting of the citizens of Bombay, (February 18, 1917), convened by the Bombay Presidency Association, to give expression to their views on the subject of the enlistment of Indians in the army and to protest against the proposed continuance of the system of indentured labour in Fiji and some of the other Colonies and to demand its early abolition. The proceedings of the meeting were announced to commence at 5 p. m., but fully more than three hours before the time appointed, people were seen wending their way towards the Town Hall, which was crowded to its utmost capacity by 4-30 p. m., and those who subsequently came had to stand outside on the verandah and the steps of the Hall. It was without doubt one of the most crowded meetings ever held in the Town Hall. It was attended by leading members of all the communities in Bombay and the proceedings were conducted with utmost enthusiasm. Sir Dinshaw Petit moved the resolution urging the immediate and total prohibition of recruitment of indentured labour and its unconditional abolition. Mr. Horniman seconded the resolution in a speech that was listened to with wrapt attention.

MR. Horniman said he felt he ought not to say very much in seconding the resolution because the President and the Hon. Sir Dinshaw Petit had both, said that everything that was to be said on the subject had already been said, and also because he was in a state of trepidation lest, if the meeting lasted longer some of the young men whom he noticed occupying the most precarious positions standing on the edges of benches and chairs, might come to an untimely end (laughter) before they had time to die for their country (renewed laughter). But there were one or two things which might be said again. He seconded the resolution with the greatest pleasure but at the same time he would have preferred that the task had been performed by somebody else. And for this reason. He was connected somewhat with politics (laughter) and if a man was connected with politics in this city and dared to open his mouth in a great and just cause he was sure to be accused of exploiting a great occasion for ignoble ends (Shame.) It had been said in some quarters this was being done in this matter which vitally affected the honour of the people of this country. They were told that the occasion was being used in that way and that the "politician and the sedition—monger" was on the platform. (Shame) Well, here was one "politician and sedition-monger"—here the speaker pointed amid laughter to Sir Narayan Chandavarkar—who had made the most eloquent, moving and the strongest speech that he had ever heard on the subject. They also had heard the eloquent speeches at the meeting held the other day at the Excelsior Theatre of such well-known and honoured Indian women as Lady Mehta, (applause), Lady Jagmohandas (applause) and Miss Cursetji (renewed applause). It was monstrous that such people should be told that they were holding these meetings for political reasons and for the exploitation of ignoble ends.

If those people were really under this misapprehension as to their object in holding these meetings and if Government shared that misapprehension then he would say that they were making a mistake which was calculated to lead to very grave results. (Loud cheers.) They had also been told that this was not a time for working the people of India into a white heat. They were already hot enough that afternoon. (Laughter) But there was no question of attempting to work the people into a white heat. The feeling of the people, as evidenced by the impressive demonstrations held in all parts of the country, was

not one of heat but one of saddened indignation at the continuance of the evil and stern and resolute determination to show that this abominable system of indentured labour must come to an end at once. (Loud cheers.)

UNGENEROUS ATTACKS.

The speaker referred to the ungenerous criticisms of and attacks on such men as Mr. Andrews and Mr. Polak, who, he said, had done so much to bring the horrors of this abominable system into the light of day. Such men as these—Mr. Andrews (Applause), Mr. Polak (Applause) and Mr. Gandhi (Applause)—were the men who had at great sacrifice—greater sacrifice than which had never been made by any men in a great cause—were attacked (shame). It stirred his bile that men such as these should be attacked for the part they were taking to demonstrate the necessity of the immediate abolition of this abominable system, coming from smug people who had only just awakened to the evil.

The chief ground of attack upon Mr. Andrews, and Mr. Polak seemed to be that they had been telling real, living stories,—which were actual photographs of the sorrows and the tragedies to which this system led. He ventured to say this was the time for telling these stories in order that the Government might more fully realise the need for immediate abolition. For these stories were as much for the ears of the Government as for those of the people who came to these meetings, and he wished Mr. Andrews and Mr. Polak were there to tell them some more of them. In their absence he would tell them one himself. (Cheers).

AN ACTUAL INSTANCE.

There was an actual instance that had come under his personal knowledge. When he was in Calcutta some time ago an Indian Christian gentleman came to see him regarding the disappearance of his son, a boy of about eighteen years of age. This lad had been missing for several days. He told him he had received on that morning that—he came to see the speaker a little pencilled letter in his son's handwriting brought to him surreptitiously, in which the boy said he was in the emigration depot at Garden Reach and asked him for God's sake to come and save him. They went to the depot and they found that all the emigrants had embarked that morning. They then went to the District Magistrate who happened to be a sympathetic officer—

officer of prompt action who did not tell them to wait for a Conference in May (Laughter)—and he ordered the steamer to be turned back from the mouth of the Hooghly to Diamond Harbour some sixty miles up the Hooghly. With the Magistrate's order in their possession they boarded the steamer but what happened? They searched for the boy among the emigrants from end to end of the steamer but they could not find him—the boy who to a certainty had been in the emigration depot the previous day. From that day to this, as far as he (the speaker) knew, the unhappy parents had never been able to find out what had become of their son. (Shame).

That, as he had said, happened a long time ago but it remained as an instance of those things which were the inevitable result of recruiting by paid agents—men paid by results—the kidnapping of men and women and luring them by false promises and misrepresentations. It was because they believed that the Government and H. E. the Viceroy could not have realised the full iniquity of this horrible system that they were holding such meetings (Cheers) and they would go on holding such demonstrations and telling such stories until they had brought home to the authorities the fulness of the necessity for ending the system once for all (Cheers)—and that at the earliest moment (Continued cheering). Well, what was the earliest moment? If they had their way they would say that the earliest moment for ending the system was to-morrow morning. (Loud cheers.) But the Government had asked them to wait till May and they were going to wait.

Continuing, the speaker said the Hon. Pundit Madan Moham Malaviya was at a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council accused by H.E. the Viceroy of being impatient. Well they were all very impatient now (Applause); they meant to be impatient. But had they always been impatient? What was the recent history of the matter? Nearly two years had passed since Lord Hardinge. (Applause) realised that this system should be abolished, a year and a half since he wrote his despatch to the Secretary of State recommending its abolition, a year all but a month since Lord Hardinge announced that the Government of India had persuaded the Secretary of State for India to agree that the system should be abolished soon. One year and two months would have passed in May when the Conference met.

Was that impatience? It had been said that the planters in Fiji and elsewhere must be given time to make ready to meet the great change. But what had they been doing all these eleven months to make ready to meet this change? There had been ample time and the people of this country had sat quiet and remained patient to hear what was being done. But when after an interval of a year they heard dark rumours of a proposal to allow the abominable system to continue for five years more and the head of the Administration in the country began to ask people to exercise more patience—that he thought was more than any great people should be asked to stand. They asked Government to go to the Conference, accompanied by the representatives of the people of India and tell the Government of the Crown Colonies and the planters that this dishonourable system had lasted long enough and that it was now to be brought to an end by a stroke of the pen. (Loud cheers).

YESTERDAY'S MEETING.

NOT since the impressive gathering which assembled a few days after the outbreak of the war to express the loyal adhesion of the people of Bombay to the Imperial cause has such an enthusiastic and convincing demonstration of popular feeling been seen in this city as was the case yesterday evening in the Town Hall. The attitude and the spirit displayed by the huge gathering, in which young, old and middle-aged were present in due proportion, showed how intense is the feeling of gratification that the Government have at last decided, as Sir Narayan Chandarvarkar put it, " to inaugurate an era of new life in the history of British India by opening careers of military service to Indians of the middle and higher classes." It also showed, however, how equally intense is the feeling that the Indian units of the new Defence Force should be composed entirely of Indians, officered by Indians, and treated in every way on an equal footing with the other units of the

Force. Given that, and, as one was able to judge by yesterday's meeting, the response to the call to arms will be whole-hearted and widespread, and to use Mr. Wacha's words "we may fully expect that the same manly virtues and the same fire of patriotism will distinguish the volunteer army" as has distinguished the regular army on the historic fields of the present war.

That however was not the only demand made in the Resolution on the subject of the Defence of India Force. The demand that the Force should be of a permanent character and continue its existence after the war was equally strongly expressed by every speaker and equally strongly endorsed by the huge audience. *It is difficult to conceive of* anything more emasculating or demoralising to a people than to deny them the right freely to serve in the defence of their own land. That is a blunder which has been unfortunately committed by the Government of this country for the past fifty years, which has not only made the regular army a select service confined to certain sections of the population and officered exclusively, so far as the commissioned ranks are concerned, by men of the ruling power, but has even refused to open the ranks of the volunteer units to the people of the soil. It is still more unfortunate that the further blunder of perpetuating these disabilities should have been committed after the present great struggle broke out and the call on the man-power of the Empire became urgent and far beyond its ordinary resources to cope with. However, it is no use repining now that the magnificent opportunity afforded by the zeal and anxiety of Indians of the middle classes to serve the Empire all this while has not been made use of before. The decision has at last been taken and it only remains to be seen that the occasion is not bungled by the attempt to perpetuate invidious distinctions. Yesterday's meeting is an unmistakeable indication of the popular feeling and it is to be hoped that Government will take due note of it.

The occasion was taken once more to demonstrate the intensity of the feeling of the Indian public in regard to the necessity for the prompt abolition of the iniquitous system of indentured labour. As a matter of fact the intention to hold a meeting for this purpose under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Association was arrived at some time ago and the organising of another meeting on the question at the Excelsior

Theatre was a coincidence that has served to deepen the impression that this is a question on which the people of this country have been very deeply moved. It is essential that the Government of India should be impressed with the fact that the public view is, that the time that has elapsed since Lord Hardinge gave his pledge to the Imperial Council that the "badge of helotry" was "soon to be removed for ever," has been sufficient for the Crown Colonies and the planting interests to make whatever arrangements it was necessary for them to make, and that the Government of India should be able to go to the Conference that is to assemble in May next with the ultimatum that if the other side is not ready for the change they must get ready at once, since Indian public opinion will not tolerate a continuance of the system beyond that time. It is a year and a half since abolition was recommended by the Government of India and a year since it was decided upon and promised to the people of this country. It is hardly reasonable to ask in these circumstances for a further display of patience. Indians regard this as a matter which concerns the honour of their womenkind and the dignity of their nationhood and they are entitled to say, after waiting for a year, that their demand for immediate abolition must be conceded.

INDIANS AND THE DEFENCE FORCE.

Under the auspices of the Home Rule League a meeting was held on Friday night at 9-30 in Shantaram's Chawl, Mugbhat Lane, to make an appeal to Young Indians in Bombay to join the new Defence of India Force. The place was packed to overflowing, at least 10,000 people being present, and great enthusiasm prevailed. At the close of the meeting it was announced that over 800 names were registered. It was also stated that the Home Rule League had opened a Register at their rooms, 251 Hornby Road, for recording ne names of those willing to serve in the Defence of India Force. Mr. Tilak was voted to the chair by acclamation.

MR. B. G. Horniman said he had to confess that it was with a certain feeling of embarrassment—which he did not usually feel in addressing an audience of Indians—that he addressed this great and enthusiastic meeting that night. And for this reason, because he felt that this was an occasion upon which only Indians should appeal to Indians and that it was something of an intrusion on the part of those who were not Indians, to do so. But he had been asked by the Chairman to speak that night. He could not speak to them with the same enthusiasm and feeling that he should have been able to do if he were one of their countrymen. The other day somebody said that he was one of those rare Englishmen who thought and felt like an Indian. He (the speaker) had taken that as a great compliment, but he would say now, as he had said then, that though he valued the compliment he claimed to think and feel like an Englishman. But here he was thinking and feeling and speaking as a friend of India who wanted her to stand as a self-respecting nation on equal terms with the other parts of the British Empire. (Cheers) Since he came to India about 10 years ago he had endeavoured in his humble sphere to work for the great consummation that he had spoken of. He had longed passionately for the day when this great consummation might be realised. The tremendous importance of that meeting was that that day was now in sight and that here and now was the moment and the opportunity, when India was on her trial. And if she proved true to herself now, she could not be denied that status within the British Empire to which she was entitled. As a friend of India he wished to put a few considerations before them. He had heard it said that this was a question which should not be approached from any point of view of selfish consideration. But there were certain questions of interest to India which it was important they should not ignore. Two years ago Lord Hardinge who believed in the policy of trust (Cheers) told the Imperial Government that they could take away every soldier and that India would protect herself. But however willing a people might be to protect itself they could not leave a great country like this without some sort of garrison. It was therefore subsequently found necessary to replace the garrison that left India for the front. Certain dangers had arisen then too which also made that essential. An attempt had been made to induce the Amir of Afghanistan to join the Germans.

an attempt which fortunately failed. But it became essential to replace the garrison in India and British Territorials were brought to India. Those were men who had volunteered in England for the protection of their Motherland, as Indians were being asked to do now, but who willingly came to India in response to the call made upon them. Would the people of India not do the same for the defence of the country? They could not tell what might happen in the future. But should such a situation arise again, instead of having an Indian Territorial Army springing to its feet to defend the country, did they want to have British Territorials brought to India again to perform the duty that was the duty of Indians? He reminded them of the treaty between England and Japan. He desired to speak with the highest respect of the Japanese, but did the people of India when their country was in danger want the Japanese to come here and defend the country instead of protecting it themselves? These were two selfish reasons but also reasons of honour which made it inevitable that every man of military age in India should respond to the call. But there were other considerations also. This audience was probably an audience of Home Rulers. He was a Home Ruler himself, not only for his own country but for every country within the Empire (cheers), but it had rightly been asked how they were going to rule themselves if they could not defend and fight for themselves. Recently, the whole of this country was stirred and shocked by the revelation of the fact that there was an attempt on foot to place India in the hands of an Imperial Council where India was not to be adequately represented, but the Colonies were. But how were they going to prevent that from becoming inevitable unless they were prepared to show that they as well as the people of the Self-Governing Dominions were prepared to accept the responsibility of their Imperial position. They could not fully carry out that responsibility unless they were prepared to accept to the very full this invitation to bear arms and to play their part in the defence of their country. If this appeal which was made to them was a failure, the result would be that the next time danger arose in this country, Japanese troops would come there to protect them; secondly not only would Japanese troops come, but the troops of the Self-Governing Dominions, if Indians were too selfish or lazy to protect their own country. (Cheers).

"I ask you", continued the speaker, "whether you are content that this duty should be undertaken by the troops of Japan or the self-governing Colonies. (Shouts of "No"). Whether you are content that others should perform the duty that is yours." (Renewed cries of "No").

These were selfish considerations, but there were also considerations of honour and sentiment. He asked them whether taking all those considerations into account, whether after listening to the eloquent appeal of Mrs. Naidu, whether there was a single man of military age in that audience that would not be ashamed to go away that night without having taken an oath to register himself as a volunteer and join the Defence of India Force. (Loud cheers). There was an appeal in this matter not only to the men of India, but to the women of India. (Cheers.) He made this appeal not only to the men of India but the women of India. He would ask the women of India not only to allow their sons to volunteer, but to urge their sons to fulfil the duty that had been laid upon them as the citizens of a great Empire. (Cheers). When every young man went out of that audience he should not be content to take the vow merely which the speaker had asked him to take, but he should also utilise the opportunity of registering his name in order that a great roll of patriotic Indians might be sent to the Commander-in-Chief in Delhi so that he may realise that the people of India were not as was suggested in the Council, only to be treated as children, but were to be treated as grown up, responsible men and self-respecting citizens.

"A SCANDAL TO THE CITY OF BOMBAY."

WE publish in another column the report of an inquest held by the Coroner, Dr. W. Nunan, on the body of a Hindu boy who was knocked down by a taxi car on Friday last. The accident appears to have been unavoidable for, according to the finding of the Coroner, "the deceased ran out in front of the victoria, and consequently suddenly appeared in front of the car, which was not travelling very fast." The car,

however, was immediately stopped and the deceased was removed to the G. T. Hospital by P. C. No. 1336A., and until he reached the hospital he was alive.

"*The Policeman stated in his evidence that the doctor saw the deceased from a distance, but did not touch his body or examine him.*" The doctor in question further told him, according to the evidence to take the deceased to the Sir J. J. Hospital, "as there was no room in the G. T. Hospital." The policeman asked for a chit which he was given. This chit was produced in Court and on it was written: "Asked to take to the J.J. Hospital as there is no room in this hospital." Continuing his evidence, the policeman said that as he was taking the deceased to the J. J. Hospital he died just as they were driving out of the compound of the hospital. Witness thereupon very properly drove to the Paltan Road Police Station and reported the facts, and the body was then taken to the morgue in the same victoria.

So much for the facts of the case. The Coroner in summing up made the very pertinent observation that the case represented "an aggravated example of a scandal which was a disgrace to such a city as Bombay." He then made two points : (1) the absence of properly fitted ambulances for victims of such serious accidents, (" the sight of the carriage of a seriously injured and dying man in an open vehicle, was a disgrace to Bombay" ;) and (2) The denial of admittance of a person in such a condition to a hospital. The Coroner went on naturally to suggest that an emergency consulting ward should be attached to the out-patient department of every hospital for the immediate reception of such serious cases. The jury, as might have been expected, accepted and endorsed both the findings and suggestions of the Coroner as we have cited them above. But the public will wonder at the extraordinarily narrow conception of their duties which seems to have animated the Coroner and the jury alike. It is not suggested for a moment that the findings of the one and the verdict of the other were other than perfectly sound —as far as they went. But it is surprising that the Coroner should have failed to advise the inclusion of, and the jury themselves failed to include in their verdict the strongest censure of the conduct of the doctor concerned. This gentlemen, according to the evidence of the policeman, " saw the deceased from a distance, but did not touch his body or examine him" before ordering his removal to the J. J. Hospital. Even supposing

that the G. T. Hospital, to which this worthy presumably belongs, had no accommodation available for the injured man, it is difficult to understand why this callousness should have been displayed by this individual towards the unfortunate victim. We do not profess to know what the professional etiquette or standard may be in regard to such culpable indifference in an emergency case on the part of a medical man. We leave that to the consideration and judgment of the medical faculty who have the highest and most distinguished traditions to maintain. But we beg leave to tell the Doctor that such conduct is universally execrated by his fellow-citizens. They do not care whether his hospital had accommodation or not, but in their opinion it was his clearest duty to have conducted himself with humanity in the circumstances. In any case both the Coroner and the jury should have taken adequate notice of the most offensive aspect of what the Coroner himself described as "an aggravated example of a scandal which was a disgrace to Bombay." The duty that rested upon both was the clearer and more imperative because this kind of "scandal" appears to be on the increase in this city. There have been several such cases, it will be recollected, in which the fact of lack of hospital accommodation has been used as a plea for the condonation of the denial of medical help and attention to persons who have subsequently died. Why did the jury not censure the doctor concerned?

STUPIDITY OR BLUFF?

THE "Madras Mail" is either very stupid or very perverse,—perhaps both. It will be remembered that we recently remarked that we did not propose to accept that journal as an authority on professional honour and we referred to the fact that its Special Correspondent during the Lucknow Congress Session abused the confidence reposed in him as Official Reporter to the Congress by telegraphing accounts of the proceedings of the Subjects Committee, which are strictly confidential, to the "Madras Mail." We did not say and we have never said that the gentleman in question was Official Reporter to the Subjects Committee. The original Note was published in our issue of the 6th instant. The "Madras Mail," after cogitating over the matter for ten days, on the 16th instant addressed us a letter calling upon us "either to produce forthwith

reputable evidence that our Special Correspondent was one of the official reporters of *the Subjects Committee of the Congress* (the italics are our own) and abused that confidential position, or to apologise in a conspicuous part of your paper." Never having made any such statement, as any honest reader of the original paragraph would be aware, we replied to that effect and added that we were at a loss to know why the Editor of the "Madras Mail" considered himself entitled to make this extraordinary request for an apology for a statement we had never made. Upon this the "Madras Mail" accuses the Editor of this paper of not knowing what has appeared in his journal and actually prints, side by side, our letter stating that we did not make such a statement and the original paragraph *showing* that we did not make such a statement, and adds that "having libelled the 'Madras Mail' and its Special Correspondent in the series of absolutely untrue statements contained in the 'Bombay Chronicle' of the 6th instant, ten days later he asks us to believe that those statements have never appeared in print although any file of his paper is a proof to the contrary."

What is one to do with such perversity ? We can only repeat that we did not at any time make any statement that the Special Correspondent of the "Madras Mail" was "the Official Reporter of the Subjects Committee and abused the confidential position" and that to ask us to apologise in a conspicuous part of the paper or anywhere else for such a statement was certainly a most extraordinary request which perhaps, might be more reasonably described as "bluff." What we did say, and what we still say, is that the Official Reporter of the Congress was a member of the staff of the "Madras Mail" and that he abused the confidence reposed in him by sending telegrams to his paper containing accounts,—or "gossip" to use the "Madras Mail's" own description,—of the confidential proceedings of one of its committees to his journal. We may be wrong but it seems to us that it is an abuse of confidence for a paid servant of an institution either to divulge, or publish tittle-tattle of its confidential proceedings. We imagine the "Madras Mail" would have been very indignant if a member of its staff had made a speech from the Congress platform retailing the private gossip of its office, and it is equally reprehensible for a paid official of the Congress to telegraph to the "Madras Mail" gossip about the private affairs of the Congress. There may be different views as to what is or is not an abuse of cofidence when a paper is "gossip" hunting, but we prefer our own view to that

of our contemporary. We are not concerned to notice the personal abuse of the Editor of this journal in which the "Madras Mail" persistently indulges. It appears to be always the last resort of journals of its kind in this country when arguing a bad case. It is as contemptible as it is unamusing. We have only to add that, if the gentleman who acted as Official Reporter to the Congress was *not* the Special Correspondent who telegraphed the "gossip" about the Subjects Committee to the "Madras Mail," or if he was specially licensed by any one in authority to send such "gossip" to his paper, we shall willingly and handsomely apologise to him.

HONOURS—MORE OR LESS!

THE "Gazette," says Reuter, contains thousands of honours on the occasion of the Kings Birthday. We have not counted the names in the Indian Honours List. But it certainly also runs into thousands. The more the Honours the less the Honour is a motto which, it appears to us, the Government, both here and in England, might try and inculcate in their minds. At present they proceed on the contrary principle. It is a case of the less the Honour the more the Honours. It can safely be said that the general public in this country long ago ceased to care twopence whether a man is a Knight, a C. I. E., a Rao Bahadur, a Khan Sahib, or what not. Titles are for tuft-hunters, said a famous English philosopher once, and if the aphorism is not literally true of the honours that are dumped on us twice a year in this country, it is true in spirit, for the different orders are practically monopolised by the official world, the greater part for itself, the lesser for those who have sought and found favour in its eyes.

In England the distribution of honours has been demoralised by the party system. But at least that means that the politicians who get them represent the political cult or programme which is for the time being in the ascendant—that of the majority of the people. In India the process-

is reversed and Mr. Jamsetjee or Hormasjee, or whatever his name may be, only gets his title when he has fallen hopelessly into the background, is clearly out of touch with public feeling and has indicated for a sufficiently long period with suppliant eyes turned towards Olympus, where he even goes and sits for months together to be certain of notice, that he is a "moderate" waiting to be rallied and quite discarded by the popular party. As for official honours, they have very little meaning for the genral public. If Lord Willingdon had been made a G. C. S. I. and Lord Pentland left out, that would have been a distinction for Lord Willingdon and we should all have been a little bit, or perhaps, very pleased. Similarly, if Lord Pentland alone had got the G. C. S. I. and Lord Willingdon ignored, we should all have been furious at the snub to a Governor who had been so much less reactionary than the favoured one. In either case there would have been a little excitement—something to talk about. But there is no difference between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. If Lord Pentland and Lord Willingdon are both to be G. C. S. I. 's, life becomes very drab, and we are forced to realise that in the eyes of the Government of India, the Viceroy, or the Prime Minister, or whoever is responsible. there is no difference between the Governor who threw the whole of India into a boiling ferment by his blundering policy and has been the mildest of war-helpers, and one who, at least, did nothing so dreadful as the former and has excelled in the latter. Again, nobody takes any interest in the painting of the lily. It is quite enough for the man in the street that Sir William Vincent and Sir Thomas Holland are Sir William and Sir Thomas. He cannot be and does not take any interest in the addition of the initials K.C.S.I. to their names; and nobody outside official circles, where there is, no doubt, much heartburning at this favouring of the already favoured, cares twopence about it. There is one notable feature about the list this year, however, for which we desire to express our condolences with those concerned. The Bombay Secretariat and the Bombay City C.I.D. have been completely overlooked. This is clearly an oversight.

The bestowal of non-official honours proceeds on the usual lines. He would be a strange secretary of a Presidency Bank who failed to get his knighthood sooner or later and it is clear that a mighty subscription to the War Loan over-tops disturbing operations in the market places at a critical time. Profiteering and War Loan work also go well in hand.

One balances the other and the title comes along. Mr. N. M. Joshi gets a silver medal, presumably for his notable services in Kaira, but Mr. Ghosal gets a C. I. E., because he is an official. For the rest, it is interesting to note that a whole host of people will be able to write M. B. E. after their names and a lesser host become O.B.E.'s. while Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy becomes a C. B. E.! There is a woeful lack of humour among people who invent titles and orders and among those who distribute them.

THE AWAKENING OF CHIMANLAL.

"THE awakening of Mr. Chimanlal Setalwad" might be a suitable title for the address delivered by the Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University on the occasion of the opening of the Surat Arts College. One might have supposed that the occasion was one which offered an opportunity for an appropriate dissertation, not only on the aims of education, but travelling widely over the whole of the problems of education in this country and especially those which face us in the Bombay Presidency. Mr. Chimanlal is an authority on these things and the occasion of the opening of this new college,—and the circumstances which have produced it,—one would have thought would have been particularly inviting to his mind. It is true that an honest review of the situation would have brought him into a line of criticism of Government policy, but it is possible to skate over thin ice and Mr. Chimanlal, we have no doubt, could have accomplished this feat and, at the same time, presented his expectant audience with some helpful reflections on the educational situation. Instead of this, after being treated to some perfunctory platitudes on the "real aim" of college education, filled out with the inevitable quotation of what somebody else has "truly said," they were given a lecture on their duty towards the Government during the war, a subject irrelevant to the occasion and on which Mr. Chimanlal Setalwad is not likely to be recognised by anyone at the present moment as an authority. One can almost hear, while reading the report, the sigh of relief with which our worthy Vice-

Chancellor of the University turned aside from his platitudes about the aims of education, to repeat the cant, to which he has become a recent convert, about the need for political silence at this time and the cessation of all political agitation. Mr. Chimanlal has become an adherent of the "eternal verities" and "Trust to Providence" school. We are not to think of such a thing as our demand for Responsible Government at the present moment. There is no time for anything but concentration on the war, we must sink all differences and "if we play our part ungrudgingly, how irresistible will be our demand!"

It would be interesting to know when Mr. Chimanlal began to entertain these self-sacrificing sentiments. Was it before or after he took the most active part in drawing up the famous memorandum of the Nineteen? Was it before or after he lent his adherence to the resolution of the Bombay and Lucknow Congresses which formulated the demand for Responsible Government and ordered the conduct and active propaganda throughout the country? May we remind him that in the Autumn of 1916, when he thought fit to join in producing the manifesto of the nineteen members, and played a very pressing part in pushing forward the Indian demand, the Empire was not in less danger than it is at the present moment. If anything, the actual danger is less at this moment, unless one is determined to be a panicist. But did he then stand forth and rebuke his colleagues with such words as, "We must first do our utmost to ensure the stability and existence of the British Empire in which we claim equal partnership and of those principles of freedom and liberty that we want to see applied to our country?" He did not. He realised as all sensible and patriotic citizens of India and members of the Empire realise, that the two things are inseparable, that the stability and existence of the great British Empire depend as much on the certainty that the principles of freedom and liberty are applied to this country, as well as to others, as the defeat of the external aggressor. And sensible and patriotic men see nothing unpatriotic and nothing inconsistent, but rather a patriotic duty in carrying on their constitutional struggle for the one, while they are ready to give every assistance to the Government in the other. But Mr. Chimanlal Setalwad takes upon himself to rebuke by implication the activities of those who are now carrying on the good work which he helped to begin nearly two years ago. It is true that his own activity lasted but a little while. Since then he has been, apparently, in a state

of somnolence,—possibly hypnotised by alluring dreams that are not vouchsafed to ordinary men,—and has only now suddenly awakened to discover that he is at one with his friend the Governor in the view that political agitation for freedom and liberty is very, very wrong in these critical times!

In the meanwhile things have been happening. If Mr. Chimanlal will take the trouble to read the speeches in Parliament, which followed on the release of Mrs. Besant and the announcement of August 20th last,—which does not constitute, by the way, a "solemn promise by our Sovereign and the British Parliament,"—which is a figment of his imagination,—he will discover that the Viceroy and Government of India realised and recognised the legitimacy, the reasonableness and inevitability of the agitation that has been carried on in this country during the war for the grant of Responsible Government, and that among many other authorities, even so austere a Conservative as Lord Curzon had to remind people of the school to which Mr. Chimanlal now belongs, that you cannot enchain the world forces that this great struggle with its awakening impulses has unloosed. And Mr. Montagu has come and gone and heard Mr. Chimanlal as well as others. In a few days we are to be presented with Mr. Montagu's scheme of reforms. What does Mr. Chimanlal propose that the country should do? Take no notice of it and tell the Government to get on with the war and not bother us with these things? We must say frankly that at such a moment, on the eve of a decision by the British electorate which is so profoundly to affect the destinies of the people of this country, to stand on a platform and prate about the need for sinking all differences and leaving Indian freedom to take care of itself or to depend upon prospective gratitude for deeds done in the war, is positively disgraceful. There are sign enough that Mr. Montagu's report will outline a scheme of reform, far from compliance with the demand to which the country and Mr. Setalvad are committed. The inspired articles appearing in the English press show us that it is proposed to treat India as a politcal kindergarten. We can get on with the war, we can defend our hearths and homes if a blundering, bungling, arrogant and self-opinionated bureaucracy will let us, but we have also to defend our internal liberty and freedom and to make those in whose hands the issue lies understand that kindergarten reforms are not what Indians want or will accept. Discussion, agitation and the fighting out of differences is essential and inevitable. The British

Parliament, has found time, in spite of the preoccupations of the war, to discuss and carry out epoch-making constitutional reforms in the United Kingdom. The pretence that India should not be allowed freedom to discuss and agitate for her reforms is ludicrous. The forces have been unloosed and neither the petulant scolding of Lord Willingdon nor the pretentious pipings of his political entourage can enchain them.

MR. S. M. EDWARDES.

THE announcement of the retirement of Mr. S. M. Edwardes from the Indian Civil Service puts an end to the anxiety of the many people who lived in the fear that this able but misguided officer would return to Bombay to occupy a post of high responsibility in the Secretariat. We see no reason for avoiding the frank statement, that, while we regret that ill-health should have put an untimely end to what at one time seemed to be a promising carreer, among the genral public there cannot be any feeling but one of satisfaction that Mr. Edwardes capacity for political intrigue and his ambition for personal power are not to find further oppotunity of exercise in the City of Bombay. Undoubtedly an extremely able officer, Mr. Edwardes rendered good service to the City in the early days of his career. His Gazeteer and unofficial publications on the history and traditions of the City are interesting and valuable guides to the student, though their literary ability is apt to be spoken of the somewhat over-ecstatically in some quarters. As Commissioner of Police, Mr. Edwardes might have done well, had he not developed a weakness for the building up of a personal influence, supported by the aid of questionable public "leaders," which threatened, and, in fact, did become a danger to the community. He improved the efficiency of the police in some respects and was a good administrator on the whole, though a somewhat contradictory character in this respect was evidenced by the fact that some of his subordinate officers complained of him as bitterly as others praised him. His weakness was a tendency to favouritism, which is always deleterious to service efficiency. Certain officers, who came into the C. I. D. with his advent to the Commissionership, were hoisted to eminence with a rapidity that was as

dazzling as it was inexplicable, and the lavish bestowal of favours generally on the C. I. D. caused no little resentment among the Divisional police during Mr. Edwards' regime.

He came to grief ultimately by the battle he set himself to fight against the meeting of the All-India Moslem League and the consummation of the political union of that body with the Indian National Congress. Government refused to accede to the demand for an enquiry into the grave allegations made by a responsible public body against the Police regarding the disgraceful scene that was engineered on the second day of the League's proceedings. But it was obvious that Mr. Edwardes could no longer remain head of the police if the confidence of the public was to be retained, and he was "promoted" to the Municipal Commissionership, a promotion which he received with unconcealed distaste. The drab routine of the Municipal Office was uncongenial to an officer who had tasted the sweets of power and personal influence which Mr. Edwardes managed to establish for himself as Commissioner of Police, and he had no taste for the intrigues of municipal politics which his predeceesor practised with so much zest. Towards the end of 1916, Mr. Edwardes was obliged to take sick leave and go to England and he has now been obliged to retire. The announcement that he has accepted the Secretaryship of the Indo-British Association is a sufficient indication of the true trend of his "sympathy" for Indian aspirations and his affection for the Indian people. At heart he was always a believer in domination and the supremacy of the bureaucracy, and he was ready to fight and intrigue for the maintenance of the present system strenuously and bitterly. We see no reason for the complaint of "The Times of India" that he has been allowed to accept the Secretaryship of this political association. A retired Civil Servant is his own master, in politics and everything else, and is at liberty to join or serve any sort of political association. The Government would have no more justification or right to interfere with Mr. Edwardes' liberty in this respect than that of Lord Sydenham and the rest of the gang who have eaten India's salt and are so eager to show their gratitude.

LORD WILLINGDON'S INSULT TO HOME RULE LEADERS.

Bombay's resentment against the public insult offered to members of the Indian Home Rule League by His Excellency Lord Willingdon as chairman of the recent War Conference held in the Town Hall was fully evidenced in the huge popular demonstration at Shantaram's Chawl and later at the overflow meeting in China Baug. The day was the Home Rule Day and was celebrated with a march of volunteers through the city making collections in aid of the League and with the demonstrations at Kandewadi and China Baug.

At the Meeting Mr. B.G. Horniman moved the following resolution:—

"That this meeting of the citizens of Bombay protests strongly against the public insult levelled by H. E. the Governor of Bombay (shame) against the members of the Home Rule Leagues in general by challenging the sincerity of their support to the Empire, thus throwing a doubt on their loyalty to the Crown; more especially it condemns his treatment of the Bombay Home Rule leaders in inviting them to the War Conference, attacking them in his opening speech, and denying them an opportunity of defining their attitude, and it calls upon H. E. the Governor to withdraw the aspersions cast against the Home Rule Leagues and its members and to express his regret for his conduct and failing such withdrawal, this meeting appeals to H. E. the Viceroy to repudiate the statement of the Governor of Bombay, and desires to point out that such provocative language is calculated to raise a barrier in the way of hearty co-operation with the Government and that until such amends have been made, members of the Home Rule Leagues will be unable to take part in any meeting in future presided over by Lord Willingdon without in any way preventing them from doing their duty to their country and the Empire at this critical juncture." In moving the resolution, Mr. Horniman said :—

IN view of the crowded condition of the meeting and the consequent request of the chairman for short speeches he would not dilate—perhaps it was not necessary in any case—upon the nature of the insult which his Excellency the Governor of Bombay thought fit to level primarily against those members of the Home Rule League whom he had

invited to the Conference and then flouted and insulted, but also against the whole body of Home Rulers in this country which meant the vast bulk of the population of India. He, therefore, only desired to answer some of the statements that had been made by the defenders of Lord Willingdon in regard to his conduct. The explanation had been put forward in certain quarters on behalf of his Excellency, that he never had any intention of conveying such a slur upon Home Rulers, that the interpretation. that had been placed upon his language by those of them who walked out and by the Hon. Mr. Jinnah who stayed behind and threw back into his Excellency's face the insult, was not what he intended to say. Without going into all the details he would quote a few words in three separate passages from Lord Willingdon's speech which could leave no possible doubt in the mind of any impartial person. not only as to the meaning of his language, but of the undoubted fact that he invited them to the Conference with the deliberate intention of casting a doubt on their loyalty to the Empire. In the very opening passage of his speech he said: "I must at the outset be assured of the loyalty of the whole of those forces"—he was referring to "forces" represented by people who were present at the meeting—"be certain of those on whom I can rely," etc. There he had said that he must be certain of the loyalty of those whom he had called there to confer with him. He then went on to catalogue those of whose loyalty he could be assured and of those whose loyalty he could be certain of. First of all he told them that he could be sure of the loyalty of Lady Willingdon, (Laughter.) They did not want to be told that. (Lauughter.) Lord Willingdon then said that he could be certain of the loyalty of the ruling princes. It was not necessary to tell them that (Laughter). Then he came to the commercial community, British and Indian of whose whole-hearted support—except presumably their friend Mr. Bomanji (Laughter)—he could be absolutely certain and so on. But when he came down to certain political agitators, certain political leaders, some of whom were connected with that political organisation called the Home Rule League he said "I cannot honestly feel sure of the sincerity of their support." (Cries of shame.)

Then he went on to say: "Indeed I may frankly say that their object seems to have been to increase the difficulties of the Government whenever and wherever they existed." Mr. Horniman asked them if they had ever heard of a more scandalous, and he would use the words that Mr.

Montagu had used in connection with Sir Subramania Iyer, a more disgraceful accusation having been levelled at the heads of the popular leaders, who throughout the three and half years of war had given every support to the war and the Empire at this critical juncture. Lord Willingdon went on to say that he had studied some of the speeches delivered by the Home Rule Leaders during the past few weeks with care, and they were of such a character—and again he repeated his slander—that he could not be sure of their sincerity (Shame.) Now in regard to that he (the speaker) challenged Lord Willingdon to produce any single word or sentence by any single Home Rule leader within the last few months which would justify this slanderous statement. And Lord Willingdon said that he had studied these speeches with care and attention. (Laughter). His Excellency finally wound up by saying: "I do not think their help will be of a very active character." With these specific words, with this deliberate accusation it was ludicruous for Lord Willingdon's defenders to come to them and tell them that they had placed an incorrect interpretation upon his Excellency's language. "On the face of that speech" continued the speaker "I say and, unless Lord Willingdon withdraws his words, I shall continue to say, that he invited the Home Rulers to the Conference with the deliberate intention of casting a doubt upon their loyalty and thus insulting them." The object, he supposed, was to frighten them, to compel and coerce them to support the war measures which had been hatched in secret in the Bombay Secretariat. He would not deal with the want of courtesy, want of hospitality displayed by Lord Willingdon. He could only say that as soon as he heard those words, as soon as the accusation was uttered, he was ready to walk out (Cheers) and he would have done so, if Mr. Tilak had not told him that he wanted to speak on the first resolution. It had been said that they, the Home Rulers, had met together beforehand and discussed that matter, and that it was wholly prearranged that they should walk out from the Conference. That statement had been made by certain journals and by many persons. It was not necessary to tell them, in that meeting, that that statement was absolutely a lie. It was true that they met on the eve of the Conference to consider what line they should take. Why should they not? But what necessity was there to think about walking out of the Conference, when the Home Rulers had before them the letter written to Mr. Kelkar by Lord Willingdon through his Private Secretary that there would be free criticism and open discussion.

Was it to be supposed that they would want to walk out under those circumstances? Was it to be supposed that they could anticipate that Lord Willingdon was deliberately going to break his word and refuse to allow Mr. Tilak to make his speech. He would repeat that when they were called to that Conference practically they were invited to walk into a trap. 'It was the old story of "Will you walk into my parlour? said the spider to the fly!" The Home Rulers were to be the flies. But on this occasion they were to fly from the spider. (Laughter.) Five of them walked out as safe and sound as when they went in, but, if anything, rather stronger in their determination to stand to their guns, (Loud cheers). And one big fly remained behind, and instead of being eaten up by the spider he taught the spider a lesson which it would take him a long time to forget. (Loud cheers). He did not think it was necessary for them to justify their attitude further. He would only refer to one single incident in conclusion. He was sorry to say that there was on that occasion one of their Home Rulers, one they had numbered among their leaders, who did not think fit to join them on that occasion, or to join them on the present occasion. After having been insulted by Lord Willingdon, for the insult was on him as much as on anybody else, he went to the War Loan Meeting under Lord Willingdon's presidency and he there made a speech and used words which were very inappropriate. Mr. Bhulabai Desai (hisses and cries of shame) said that this was no time for shirking. He would say to Mr. Desai and to all those who had not strength and consideration to stand by the Home Rule League that this indeed was not a time for "shirking" but a time for standing by their cause which was the cause of the Empire as well as the cause of India. (Loud cheers).

AN EXTINCT VOLCANO.

ALMOST every day that passes brings fresh evidence of the activity of India's enemies in Great Britain. The "Indo-British Association" and the thousand and one other representatives of reactionaryism in India are evidently bestirring themselves, not only with feverish energy, but also with organised deliberation. There is good reason for all this.

Those who have thrived so long—and undisturbed—on the political and economic exploitation of India feel that, at last, the colossal monopoly of power, privilege and profit they have built up is really threatened with dissolution. Two factors are mainly making for that result. One is the quickening of the moral conscience of the world consequent upon the war, which has declared its determination in a pretty unmistakable way to tolerate no longer the iniquities and infamies that went to make up the old political system—the Imperialism founded upon race domination—of the pre-war epoch. The second and not less vital factor is the practical and splendid consolidation of Indian nationalism which has come into being. India at last is resolved to have done with the fraud and farce of the old dispensation, and to take her rightful place as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth. In this aim she has the unquestionable and fervent sympathy of the British race, which responsible British statesmen have interpreted into a solemn pledge, on which there can be no going back. But the redemption of that pledge must automatically spell the death of Vested Interest—bureaucratic and commercial—which holds India in its grip to-day, and the votaries of the order, backed as they are by extensive resources, are determined to defeat the aim of British statesmanship, if they can, and in any event to delay and hamper the incidence of responsible Self-Government in India to the uttermost limits of their power. A measure of success, it must be admitted, has attended their intrigues to that end. An indispensable part of their campaign, of course, is to prevent the truth about India from coming to the knowledge of the British democracy, what time they themselves are busy disseminating broadcast the most unmitigated lies, the most shameless misrepresentations about India, her people and her aspirations. The official censorship, instituted as a war measure, has been harnessed to their service for political purposes, and has done yeoman's work in the way of preventing the transmission of material facts about India to Great Britain through the ordinary channels. The stopping of the Home Rule deputation from reaching England,—thanks to the presence of Lord Islington at the India Office, and of Lord Milner in the War Cabinet—was another *coup* to their credit. India thus gagged, "Indo-Britain" is merrily busy with its propaganda.

The latest acquisition—and victim—of the "Indo-Britishers" is Mr. J. L. Garvin, the volatile editor of the "Observer." Mr. Garvin is

now by way of being an extinct volcano, but in his time he has had pretty picturesque eruptions. Beginning as an Irish 'extremist' in the far-off days of his earlier career in his native land, his later history has been mainly distinguished for its uncompromising denial of Irish national aspirations and resistance to the coming of Irish liberty. He has, moreover, been one of the pillars of reactionaryism in Great Britain, having fought for everything effete and antiquated in British political life with the ardour of a crusader. From these facts it is easy to assess the value that may be attached to Mr. Garvin's notions on Indian reform. The fact that the "Observer" has published "a three column artice" on "India's Future" need not impress anyone as much as Reuter evidently intended, for it is well known in Fleet Street, and indeed in all informed circles in England, that Mr. Garvin is incapable of writing anything *less* than three columns on any subject under the sun! His usual editorial effort every Sunday covers a page, and sometimes a page and a half of the "Observer"! Mr. Garvin may well be astounded at his own moderation in discussing so elastic a theme as "India's Future."

Apart from its length, the most striking thing about Mr. Garvin's article is its detachment. He writes exactly in the vein that one would have expected from him any time before August, 1914. Reading him no one need suspect that since then a world-convulsion has been in progress,—which has convulsed nothing more than the smug old notions of race ascendancy and class privilege represented by the "die-hard" school of politics of which he is a foremost "last-ditcher." It is painfully clear that the events of the last four years, which have demolished many a stronghold of despotism, have not helped to wean Mr. Garvin from any of his ante-diluvian pre-possessions. That he is steeped to his eyes in the cant of an earlier day, may be seen from the following amazing passage from his article:

> "We are trustees for the vast inarticulate mass and we firmly propose and intend to retain our guardianship and suzerainty, until India, as a whole, is educated up to the possibility of a federal union; under an Indian regime as enlightened, just and stable as our own".

For the rest, Mr. Garvin's article is a grandiloquent echo of the "Joint address" effusions of Mr. Lionel Curtis, who has evidently "nobbled" him. The oracle has taken his cue from the minor prophet!

IN THE COUNCIL CHAMBER—IN 1920!

A meeting of the Provincial Legislative Council of Utopia (*sic*) was held in the Council Chamber on Tuesday last. There was a lengthy agenda of interpellations and resolutions but, thanks to the adept handling of the non-official members, both outside the Council Chamber by the emissaries of Government,—who are now well-experienced in this sort of thing,—and inside the Chamber by the President, the business was disposed of in about half-an-hour, much, to the gratification of the hard-worked official membes, who were thus enabled to returr earlier than they had anticipated to the real work of efficient administration carried on with such great sacrifice of self from day to day in the ascetic recesses of the Secretariat.

The Hon. Mr. Patwell had put an important interpellation regarding the appointment of a certain Mr. Jones to a post in the educational service over the heads of a number of other equally, if not better, qualified men. As the Hon. Member, however, was to move a resolution on the same subject, the answer to his question was left over. The advantage of this method of dealing with questions becomes obvious later. Fortunately there was no discussion at all on this extremely distasteful and unpleasant subject, thanks to the dexterity of the member-in-charge, who succeeded, after a preliminary bombardment of the Hon. mover in the lobby, in consolidating his position, by getting up, and with a fine defiance of all the rules of order, making a speech on the resolution *before* it was moved. He explained that it was perfectly true that racial distinctions had been a feature of the regulations governing the appointment but they were not of a permanent character and next time they would not be allowed to prevail. So it was perfectly useless to have a resolution on the subject. Mr. Patwell had the decency to consent to the withdrawal of his resolution, but an attempt in doing so to mention the name of Mr. Jones was promptly squashed by the President, who, laying his hand on his heart, said that the name of Mr. Jones was not mentioned in the Resolution and he would never, never so far allow the decencies of debate to be outraged as to permit such a liberty to be taken with the name of Mr. Jones. Thus the matter came to an abrupt termination.

The Council next proceeded to discuss the report of the Select Committee on the Municipal (Abolition of Popular Representation) Bill. The Committee had recommended the dropping of the clause making the President of the Corporation subordinate to the Commissioner in all respects, as they thought that an opportunity might presently arise for abolishing the President altogether. The representative of the Corporation attempted to discuss the merits of the Committee's report but this *contretemps* was avoided by the celerity with which the President resorted to the expedient of declaring him out of order in discussing this clause, which was going to be withdrawn. As the Committee's Report was almost entirely concerned with the clause in question any prospect of a tedious discussion of this dull and depressing subject was thus happily nipped in the bud and the Council was able to get on to the next business.

This was a resolution moved by the Hon. Mr. Dadibhoy Fazulbhoy to the effect that Government be pleased to consider the desirability of extending the time limit for speeches on the Budget from five to ten minutes. The Hon. Member, who had a prepared speech in his hand, began by pointing out that the rights of non-official members had been very much curtailed in recent years. (Official laughter.) At one time members could speak for as long as they liked (Official groans); and it was on record that one member on one occasion spoke for more than an hour. (At this point the Hon. Member in charge of Finance was carried out of the Council chamber senseless!) On order being restored the speaker continued that first of all they were limited, in the time of Lord Crystal Palace, to twenty minutes, but in 1917, owing to the pertinacious loquacity of a veteran member, who had spoken for no less than half an hour in the previous year, and the very strongly held official view that too much time had to be spent by official members in attending these council meetings, a new time limit of five minutes had been introduced. At this point the speaker caused a considerable sensation by quoting statistics as to the average length of speeches in various legislatures throughout the world.

The President: Order, Order. I cannot allow the Hon. Member to go on lacerating the feelings of my Hon. Colleagues in this fashion. All this is quite irrelevant, in that it refers to speeches in Legislatures where the discussions are for the purpose of settling the budget, whereas

we merely have the privilege of talking about it after it is settled and disposed of. I am sure my Hon. friend will see the force of that and bring his remarks to a conclusion. And now in order to avoid any further unpleasantness I may say that, in view of the greatly improved behaviour of Hon. Members during the past few years, and the intelligence they now display, Government propose, though they cannot go so far as the mover of the Resolution wishes, to extend the time limit to seven minutes and a half (Loud applause). I think that should suffice to allow the most loquacious member to express his views on such a dead subject as the Budget. (Official laughter and applause). I hope my non-official friends will recognise that the official members are making a considerable sacrifice in thus agreeing to extend the time allotted to discussion in this chamber, which so gravely hampers their ordinary work, and will use the privilege extended to them sparingly. In order to ensure that the rule is strictly enforced and to save the President the trouble of continually looking at his watch, it has been decided to nominate Mr. Suleman Abul Wahed, the celebrated time-keeper of the Western India Turf Club, as an expert member, to perform a similar office in this Council. (Loud applause). We shall have every confidence in him. Before we disperse, however, I would like to point out what a very buisnesslike Chamber we have now become. Our sittings during the last three years have averaged half-an-hour each in duration and the whole time occupied in our delibrations in any one of these years has never exceeded two days all told. I am sure there is no other Legislative Assembly in the world that can show such a record. (Prolonged applause from the official benches.) And now we have had, I am sure, a most interesting and instructive meeting and the Council is adjourned *sine die.—From "Sunday Chronicle."*

DICKENS' STUDENTS IN BOMBAY.

IT has been decided to establish a Dickens' Fellowship in Bombay. This epoch-making decision was come to one night this week at the Orient Club at a farewell banquet to Mr. Walter Crotch, organised by the Hon. Mr. J. D. Jenkins. The resolution to found the fellowship

Barodawala has been cast for the part of the Hon. Samuel Slumkey and there is much gratification that the titles correspond. Mr. F. F. Gordon, who was invited to combine the parts of Mr. Pott and Mr. Slurk has been regretfully compelled to decline the invitation, owing to his imminent departure from India. It has been decided to open the readings with some excerpts from "The Mudfog Associaion." It is reported that some of the leading gentlemen of our city will take part on this occasion interpreting the characters of Sir Hookham Snivey, Mr. Sunffletoffle, Mr. Slug, Professor Queerspeck, Mr. Wigsby, Mr. Purblind, Professor Muff, Mr. Muddlebrains, Mr. Coppernose, Doctor Buffer, Mr. Kwakley and Mr. Blunderem. But as the allotment of parts is not yet quite complete it is better not to anticipate the final cast.

OVERHEARD AT THE BANQUET.

Another correspondent, who, we fear, is equally unreliable, sends us the following report of a conversation, *sotto voce*, alleged to have been overheard at the Dickens banquet.

1st Guest: Baba, yeh kiya bat hai?—Dickens, Dickens, Dickens! Yeh Dickens kohn hai?

2nd Guest: Ap junte nahin? Dickens bahut burra author tha. English language ke waste subse acha hai. Shakespeare ke mafik hai.

1st Guest: Thik! Lekin humko kiswaste bulaya? Moslem League ke pas humlog English language khalas kia. Dickens uske title kub milla? Kiya title milla? Woh Dickens, President ke pas baitha?

2nd Guest: Baba, kiya ignorance hai? Dickens idhar hai nahin! Dickens murgaya!

1st Guest: Murgaya to hum log ko kaiko bulâya? Kub murgaya?

2nd Guest: Chi Chi! Bahut baras hogia. Hum samsta Shakespeare ke paila tha.

1st Guest: Kitna baras hua? Baba yeh burra chalak hai. Hum samasta title ke khana tha. Abhi chalo. Hum log maja banayaga.

—*From "Sunday Chronicle."*

UNAUTHENTICATED NEWS.

CONSIDERABLE comment has been aroused by a report which appeared in the "Advocate of India" on Tuesday, from which I take the following extract:—

"This morning, at nine o'clock the strikers met as usual at the King's Circle to discuss the situation. Mr. Vincent was present there as were also some members of the "Kamgar Hitvardhak Sabha," who had also exerted themselves in bringing about this happy end. After a brief discussion some of the workmen in addressing others said that they had done a wrong thing in not listening to Mr. Vincent's advice, who had all along been so very kind and sympathetic to them and had always given them the advice, which, if they had acted upon, they would not have lost their one month's wages in these hard times. These words were lustily cheered by the men and shouts of "Vincent Sahib ki jai" were raised by the men. These shouts of "jai" were taken up again and again till some of the men became hoarse."

* * * * * *

I am able to add to this some further interesting items of unexpected developments which I have collected from various sources. I quote below from certain reports which have not as yet appeared in print:—

* * * * *

"A striking incident occurred recently at a Home Rule meeting at the China Baug. While the meeting was in progress the Hon. Mr. Th. B. Sh. Jobkins appeared on the platform wearing the ceremonial costume of a straw hat and white suit in which he attended the funeral of the late Dadabhai Naoroji. Mr. Jobkins, taking a sheaf of typewritten manuscript from his pocket previously prepared for him in high "*chi-chi*" by the editor of the "Prattler," proceeded to read a well-considered but somewhat ungrammatical speech against Home Rule, pointing out to the misguided audience how they were being misled by the self-interested advice of foreign hirelings and adventurers. The huge congregation were visibly moved and at the conclusion of the address burst into shouts of "Jobkins Sahib ki jai" which were renewed again and again, as the

hon. gentleman was borne in a triumph on the shoulders of the crowd, and consigned to the waters of the nearest tank (unsterilised !)

* * * * *

"A hitherto unrecorded incident which occurred during the recent joint Conference of the All-India Congress Committee and the Council of the All-India Moslem League is of more than passing interest. It seems that, while the members of the Conference were assembling ? Sirdar S*****n G****m M***a appeared on the scene and proceeded to remonstrate with the Mahomedans present on their misguided conduct in mixing themselves up with Congresswallahs. A very deep impression was made on his co-religionists by this stalwart representative of orthodox Mahomedanism and stickler for the wearing of beards and they quickly decided to have no more to do with the Conference, crowding round the Sirdar and thanking him with tears in their eyes for having opened their eyes to the folly of their conduct. The incident closed with shouts of "S*****n ki jai", Mr. W*** H*****n and others becoming quite hoarse with their efforts."

* * * * *

"A very pleasing incident took place recently at Kalyan station. It appears that at the same time that Mr. Tilak arrived at the station on his way to Bombay various members of the Government accompanied by Sir Va*****e C***l were passing through on their way back to Poona. In response to an enthusiastic demonstration by a large crowd Lokmanya Tilak delivered an address on the virtues of the Bureaucracy. The Hon. Mr. C******l, the Hon. Mr. C**s, the Hon. Mr. C***l, Mr. R*****n and other officials who were interested listeners, were so overcome with emotion that they rushed forward with shouts of "Tilak ki jai" and warmly embraced the great national leader. Several of the hon. gentlemen became quite hoarse with shouting. Sir V*****e then garlanded the patriot amid thundering cheers and all entering his compartment par-took of *pan supari* amid mutual felicitations."

* * * * *

"A Motorists' Defence Union has recently been formed in Bombay. R\`i B*****r C******l S******d, who has been elected the Patron of the Society, presided at the inaugural banquet when Mr. At****e proposed the toast of the "Motorists of Bombay and May They

Flourish!" By-the-way a pleasing incident took place when the latter gentleman was taking a stroll on the Apollo Bunder the next day recuperating from the debilitating effect of the noxious atmosphere of his court. As he was passing the Taxi stand, which was full at the time, he was recognised by the drivers who crowded round him with shouts of "Magistrate ki jai," until most of them had completely lost their voices. A European driver then sang, "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow" in a voice husky with emotion and exhaustion and the demonstration concluded with the whole rank blowing their horns until they burst. His Worship was very much moved by this spontaneous demonstration and there and then gave a solemn undertaking not to relax his severity on the Bench, which was received with renewed cheering."

—*From "Sunday Chronicle."*

FRIENDS OF THE POOR!

"In India, and particularly in the large cities, recourse is being had more and more to the Police by the poorer classes for solace and advice. It is in this capacity that I am often personally approached."—Mr. F. A. M. H. Vincent, at the meeting of the League of Mercy.

This thought should be sufficient to last out next week too—among those who recover!

Come to our arms all ye who solace seek
From sore distress.
Come ye who fallen are from instincts weak,
Or in a mess.
In poverty and shame ye all shall find,
That there is nothing in this World to mind,
Worth any pains.
No cause to weep, despair, despondent be,
While in the office of the C. I. D.
Our H***e reigns.
And, know, the motto of his rule is this!
Not to forget
That, if policemen's lot unhappy is,
There's solace yet
In rememb'ring that though their lives are cast
In sordid grooves where duty holds them fast
And makes them fret,
They yet can help the poor their burdens bear
Like gentle Patwardhan, the Taki Pair,
And Mr. Pet.

(*With apologies to the anonymous laureate of the Crabbet Club.*)

—*From "Sunday Chronicle."*

THE VICEROY'S SPEECH.

IN opening the Session the Imperial Legislative Council yesterday Lord Chelmsford began with a reference to what he described as,—and what most people will agree with him, is a "very painful topic"—the recent outrages committed on the "peaceful Moslem population" of Shahabad and other areas in Behar. Painful topics of this character, however, are not aggravated nor does it aggravate the painful feelings they have already created if frank and reasonable comment upon them is uttered, and we have no fault to find with the manner or matter of the Viceroy's reference to this topic. The occurrences in Behar which have created so grave an impression on the Mahomedan community at large, are equally regretted by the responsible sections of the Hindu community and even by the humbler ones too in all parts of the country. Thinking Hindus, and they are not confined to what we generally know as the "educated classes," view with reprobation such excesses as much as any other section of the population of the country. The origin of the recent outbreak in Behar is still largely wrapped in obscurity and it is probable that the mysterious influences which set on foot the propaganda which provoked these scandalous acts of an inflamed mob will never be satisfactorily traced. The Government can do no more, as Lord Chelmsford said, than see that the culprits are brought to justice without delay,—though one could wish it were also without undue haste,—and the sufferers properly compensated. For the rest it lies upon the leaders of both communities to use their influence "to soothe the sore and injured feelings produced by these events." Lord Chelmsford wisely recognises that though "the question at issue in these unhappy disturbances is linked with unhappy memories. India has long since advanced beyond the stage when the appeal in such matters lies to the discreditable agency of brute force."

"In these days recognised leaders stand forth who are capable of influencing the masses of their fellow-countrymen, and surely, it is not too much to hope that on their initiative and through their guidance methods may be devised to prevent a recurrence of these regrettable incidents."

Public opinion will, of course, cordially endorse these sentiments, and, for our part, we would add the hope that, in the future, Hindu and Moslem leaders of opinion will be on the alert to check those mysterious and wicked influences which set aflame the torch of religion and hatred, before they have time to provoke coflagrations which, naturally enough, are used by the enemies of Indian unity for their own nefarious purposes.

Leaving this unpleasant subject the Viceroy proceeded to make an announcement regarding reform in procedure on the Budget in Council which will be welcomed as a small instalment of the greater changes in store, which are necessary to give some reality and practical utility to the Council discussions on the financial proposals of Government. "Flogging a dead horse" is a not inapt description which has been frequently applied to these discussions. The financial statement is introduced and no discussion on its proposals ensues, and no such discussion on the financial policy of the Government takes place until the proposals appear in their final shape as the Budget at the end of the Session. Everything that can be said by way of criticism has to be said after the time, when it might have been of effect in modifying what is shown to be wrong or undesirable, has expired. The discussions when they take place are, as Lord Chelmsford said, "infructous and academic," and on that account not the less provocative of acrimony and irritated feelings, than they should be, did they take place when effective criticism would really place the members of Government on their defence. We suppose that no legislative assemblies so called, in the world have ever been reduced to such a hopeless state of impotence by ingenuity in framing rules of procedure as the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils of India in respect to the matter of discussion of the financial policy of Government. We hope to see the day, ere very long, when all this will be reformed to an extent which will allow, not merely that the voice of the popular representatives shall be heard before the proposals are finally shaped, but will give them some voice as to how they shall be framed and the final voice as to how they shall be shaped. In the meanwhile, the Government of India have secured the assent of the Secretary of State to a change in procedure which, at least, takes the first step. In future, an interval having elapsed after the financial proposals are laid upon the table for members to digest them, on the appointed day the Council will proceed to a general discussion of

the financial statement, which will thus precede instead of following the presentation of the settled Budget containing the proposals of Government in their final shape. The present first and second stages, will thus become the second and third stages, and at these members will be able to move resolutions to the same extent as under the existing rules. The final stage will thus come when the non-official members have had their say. The old "through the looking glass" procedure of settle first and discuss afterwards thus disappears. How far those in charge of the Budget will respond to the spirit of these changes and reshape their proposals in accordance with the criticisms of non-official members remains to be seen. But it is interesting to note that Lord Chelmsford optimistically. speaks of the Hon. Finance Member "explaining" at the final stage, "the changes he has made with reference to the opinions expressed by the Council, or on the basis of their figures." That will indeed be a great spectacle for India—if it materialises. We are quite willing to believe, with the destiny of finance in Sir William Meyer's hands, that it may,—in a moderate and sober sort of way. We have only one word more to say. The Viceroy speaks of these changes in reference to the Imperial Council only. We hope they will be speedily extended to the Provincial Councils also.

His Excellency proceeded to deal with a variety of topics too numerous for detailed comment at present. We may mention, however, one of them briefly. We wish our Governors could get it out of their heads that the poorer classes in this country have not felt the pinch of distress, induced by the war, to any great extent. They have felt it bitterly; and largely because of the remissness of Government in so long failing to realise the need for remedial measures. That is the result of a rigid and unsympathetic system administered by self-opinionated persons who are hopelessly out of touch with the real thoughts and feelings of the people. But it is rather hard on a populace that has suffered by the free licence enjoyed by soulless profiteers, superimposed on genuine economic scarcity produced by the war, that they should constantly have the assertion thrust upon them that they have not had to suffer so much as others, because an academic bureaucracy has come to this unsustainable conclusion and passed it on to their superiors as an unassailable dictum. What we want to see is a little less harping on this alleged good fortune of the Indian people and some

greater vigour in avoiding any further glaring exposure of its fallacy, now that Government has at last awakened to the necessity of doing something. We must defer the discussion of other matters dealt with in the Viceroy's speech to another occasion.

A GRAVE PROBLEM.

WE publish to-day the fourth of a series of letters from an extremely well-informed correspondent dealing with the agricultural situation in Gujarat and especially in the Kaira District. In these letters our correspondent has presented the public with a very careful analysis of the conditions prevailing in the latter district at present and has traced its agricultural history for many years past. His conclusions and the evidence on which they are based deserve the careful attention of the public and the Government. He presents considered conclusions based on evidence, which appears to us to be fairly unassailable, which are in sharp contrast to the airy assertions contained in the recent Government, Press Note which described Kaira as a "rich and prosperous" district and controverted, without the production of any evidence whatsover, the representations made to Government from various quarters, regarding the grave distress existing throughout the district, and the urgent need, in view of the sufferings of the people for much more extensive and generous measures of relief, in the way of remission or suspension of relief, than those hitherto granted. We do not propose, at present, to go into the previous history of the district. "Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof" is a proverb which can be applied retrospectively as well as in prospect, and our immediate concern is to impress upon Government, if they have not yet realised it, that the gravity of the distress prevailing in the Kaira District is not a figment of the imagination of people seeking to embarrass the Government, nor the invention of mischievous political agitators, but an impressive fact which no amount of official sophistry can get over.

It is necessary to put aside all prejudice and sensitive feeling in regard to the injury caused to official reputations and resentment at the presumption of non-official bodies and individuals in encroaching upon what are regarded as official preserves. The question is whether the

people are to be allowed to suffer or not. We are presented with two pictures. On the one hand we have a responsible public body, in the Gujarat Hindu Sabha, which is not in the proper sense of the word a political body, and trusted public men of high standing and reputation, who, after careful and exhaustive investigations, lay before the public a state of affairs which indicates the most widespread distress calling for very substantial measures of relief. Both the Gujarat Sabha and the Hon. Mr. Patel and the Hon. Mr. Parekh have published exhaustive and considered reports, justifying the conclusions to which they have come. They have made no hasty or casual survey of the conditions. The enquiry in each case has been detailed and extensive. Numbers of villages in the various talukas came under observation, crops were carefully inspected, surprise visits were paid to homes for the purpose of seeing at first-hand the actual condition of the sufferers, meetings, at which thousands of agriculturists were present, were held for the discussion of the situation and for the purpose of hearing the reports of the people at first hand, and hundreds of statements of agriculturists were recorded and landowners were consulted. The results of these exhaustive investigations are given in the following summary contained in the statement issued by Messrs. Parekh and Patel, which agrees with the conclusions of the Sabha, but is more detailed :—

(*a*) That the Bajri crop had failed almost entirely from excessive rain. The highest yield according to our estimate of this crop was half an anna in a rupee. Even this quantity of Bajri was not eatable as it was infected with mina poison and we were given names of some persons who had died of that poison.

(*b*) The yield of Kodra was between two and three annas in a rupee.

(*c*) The yield of Bavto did not exceed two annas in a rupee.

(*d*) The Juwar crop had failed entirely.

(*e*) The yield of Paddy (rice) was from five to six annas in a rupee in some places and only two annas in a rupee in others. During our visit and inquiries we never heard that the rice crop was anywhere *unusually good* as stated in the Press Note.

(*f*) Among the later crops the pulses, math, mag, adad, chola and val had failed entirely..

(*g*) The Tur crop was standing but in several places it was suffering from diseases of various kinds. If no unfavourable conditions

intervened it was estimated that the crop would yield six annas in a rupee. But the agriculturists were seriously apprehensive of the entire loss of this crop from frost. In all places we visited we were shown Tur-flowers fallen off in large quantities and we nowhere found the Tur crop in good condition and certainly not in *excellent* condition as stated in the Press Note.

(*h*) The cotton plants had not had their normal growth. They were much stunted. Much mischief had been done to them by rats and diseases. In some places all expectations of getting the crop had been given up. In other places the yield was expected not to exceed annas three in a rupee.

(*i*) The Til crop had failed entirely.

(*j*) The Castor plants had been affected by *Popti* disease and even if future conditions remained favourable its yield would not exceed annas four in a rupee.

(*k*) We found the Tobacco badly affected by various diseases such as *Vakumba*, *Ganthia*, *Chanchadi* and *Khakhra* and the crop would not exceed three to four annas in a rupee.

(*l*) With reference to fodder all stalks of Juvar and all straws had become almost useless. The Juwar stalks were unusually thin and stunted and were hardly expected to yield four annas in a rupee of the average quantity.

Messrs. Parekh and Patel add that in the houses of the agriculturists which they visited they found that "there were no resources left with them for the maintenance of themselves, their families and their cattle till the ripening of the next harvest." On the other hand the official version is summarised in the following extract from the Government Press Note :

Owing to the excessive rainfall in the latter months of the monsoon the bajri crop was very considerably affected in portions of Kaira district and to a lesser extent the bavto and wodra crops which form the food-stuffs of some of the poorer classes of the population. The crops sown as a mixture with these crops also suffered to some extent, with the exception of tur, from the ravages of rats. In some places rice ready for harvesting was damaged by the late rains, and tobacco and other crops were slightly affected. On the other hand the

A DANGEROUS PROPOSAL.

WE published last week a letter from a correspondent drawing attention to a certain feature of the Bill to amend the Criminal Procedure Code which has been introduced in the Imperial Council and which is now before a Select Committee. There is a good deal in the Bill which is open to criticism but our correspondent has singled out a clause which proposes a change, which, he is right in holding to be of an alarming character, and which has already caused grave apprehension in those quarters where the Bill has been the subject of study. We have no hesitation in saying that, not merely the legal profession, but the public at large would view with extreme disfavour and actual fear any change in the law which in any way extended the already wide powers of Presidency Magistrates over the liberty of his Majesty's subjects. Presidency Magistrates, as the committee of distinguished lawyers which was appointed to consider the revision of the Criminal Code pointed out, are not usually persons of exceptional capacity or experience, and most people will agree with the Committee in holding that they ought not to be trusted with any wider powers than those of first-class magistrates. But quite apart from the question of capacity or experience, the powers at present enjoyed by Presidency Magistrates in certain respects are already dangerously wide, as anyone who has watched Police Court procedure in actual practice in Presidency towns very well knows, and any proposal to extend them requires to be strenuously opposed in the interests of public safety.

It is neccessary to remember that these magistrates enjoy powers far exceeding those conferred on Metropolitan Magistrates in England. They try cases which in England would have to be sent before a jury and inflict sentences which in England are only within the competence of a High Court judge or a Chairman or Recorder of Quarter Sessions on the verdict of the jury. And up to a fine of Rs. 200 or a sentence of imprisonment not exceeding six months their sentences are non-appealable. Consequently the law provides that, only in such cases where the sentence exceeds either of these limits is the Magistrate bound to record the evidence of the witnesses. This is a most unwise provision

memorial which the Bombay Vakils' Association has addressed to Government on the subject. They say:—

Under the proposed alteration the accused in a criminal trial will be seriously prejudiced in his defence in as much as he would be deprived of his right under the existing section applicable to warrant cases (Section 256 Criminal Procedure Code) viz: the right of cross-examining the complainant and his witnesses after the charge is framed *i.e.*, after knowing the full prosecution case which he is called upon to meet.

Further, the proposed alteration would deprive the accused of the right which he has under the present Code of getting a reasonable time for entering upon his defence and calling his witnesses after the prosecution case is finished.

The proposed alteration will also have the effect of compelling the accused to disclose his defence before the prosecution makes out any case, and will thus seriously prejudice his defence.

The proposed alteration will considerably increase the already large number of cases in which meagre records prevent the High Court from effectively exercising its revisional powers.

It seems to us that the authors of the Code in framing the procedure by which a Magistrate in warrant cases first ascertains whether there is a *prima facie* case and then, if such is the case, proceeds to formulate a charge and to try the case as it would be tried in a sessions court, had in view the approximation as nearly as possible of the procedure in cases of gravity triable by magistrates to that where the right of trial by jury exists. To modify this procedure in the manner proposed would destroy the safeguards against possible injustice which have been provided. These safeguards are indicated in the paragraphs we have quoted from the letter of the Vakils' Association, and we cannot think that anyone duly concerned for the protection of innocent accused persons and the fair administration of justice will contend either that they are unimportant or that to do away with them will not inflict grave hardship on accused persons in the conduct of their defence. Such wide powers ought not to be enjoyed by any magistrate and we trust that the non-official members of the Imperial Council will make a strenuous fight against the proposed new clause, as well as on behalf of a curtailment of the latitude allowed to Magistrates under the present law.

AWAKE AT LAST.

THE conveniently comprehensive provisions of the Defence of India Act have often been resorted to by the bureaucracy in this country to restrict the liberty of person, of speech and writing, whenever it has suited its purpose to regard that as "a danger to public safety." In fact, by the manner in which this Act has been enforced, quite opposed to its original purpose, it has more often been itself a danger to public safety than the cause of removing any such danger. Again, it is quite characteristic of the prevailing system of administration, which is in such a small degree responsible to public opinion, if not loftily contemptuous of it, that when there is real need for prompt measures to deal with dangers to public safety, the authorities have displayed amazing indifference and apathy. The history of famines and of agricultural scarcities and of the harsh administration of the land revenue system has in the past abundantly revealed the cardinal fault of the machinery of Government, namely, that knowledge of the sufferings of the people comes too late to the authorities and that the latter hardly ever take remedial measures until the mischief has been done. The truth of all this is brought home by the apathetic attitude adopted by the local Governments and the Government of India for many months towards the widespread feeling of resentment and even despair that has possessed the people in most parts of the country, as a result of the increasing rapacity of the profiteer and the rackrenter both of whom for the last two years and more have been a greater danger to public safety than any individual or class of individuals dealt with under the Defence of India Act.

If the Government of India have now awakened to the extent and intensity of the hardship borne by a large majority of the people—hardships that could easily have been avoided if the Government had determined to nip the evil of profiteering in the bud—they have awakened after a great deal of unnecessary mischief has been done. This much needs to be made clear before we give a due meed of praise to the Government of India for having decided at last, for the purpose of securing public safety, to publish rules under the Defence of India Act

taking powers for the maintenance of the supply of commodities of general use at reasonable prices. The powers are comprehensive—except for the strange omission of any provision for the control of house rents—and not too drastic in view of the enormity of the evil that requires to be checked. They are to be exercised either by the Governor-General in Council or by the Local Governments of any part of the country where they are declared to be applicable. Under these powers, any "trader"—which expression includes "a manufacturer, producer, warehouse keeper, or vendor, and in case of a vendor, whether wholesale or retail, and whether acting on his own behalf or on behalf of any other person, and if not acting on his own behalf, the person on whose behalf he is acting"—may be called upon to make a return "as to stocks of the commodity (in regard to which a declaration under the rules is promulgated) held by him or consigned to him or under order on his account: as to contracts for the supply to, or by him of such commodity or for or in connection with the production or manufacture of such commodity: as to any other dealing by him therein and as to the persons with whom and the prices at which any such contracts and other dealings were made or had or at which such commodity has been bought or sold by him: as to the cost of production of such commodity so far as the same may be made known to him and the profits usually made or expected by him on the sale thereof; and, finally, as to any other matters specified in the order with respect to which in the opinion of the authority making the order it is desirable to obtain information for the purpose of controlling the price of such commodity."

Further, the Government may prescribe the conditions under which (including the maximum price at which) such commodity may be sold, the conditions being either general for the whole area or may vary as regards different localities therein, as the case may be, and different conditions being prescribed for different classes of such commodity. Powers again are taken to make a search in order to test the accuracy of any return and to secure due punishment of persons contravening the rules or the notifications issued under them.

The powers, as we have already stated, are not too drastic and are calculated to secure the end in view if they are properly exercised. How their proper exercise can be ensured depends on the authority to which

they are delegated, as, in practice, they must be delegated. The record of the Defence of India Act, as it has hitherto been enforced, will, we hope, be a sufficient warning in this respect and the actual and potential dangers of its arbitrary enforcement by executive officers—prompted by the hirelings of the C. I. D. and uncontrolled by the deliberate check of a representative body—have been too well realised to permit the perpetuation of another series of blunders which would lead to grave consequences. The control of profiteering is a matter that vitally affects the day-to-day life of the people, and if it is to be successful and at the same time not to be a source of constant and unjustified harassment to innocent persons, it is essential that the controllers who may be appointed,—and, as we have previously emphasised, there is no reason why they should be necessarily officials—should be merely the executive officers of a really popular body composed of persons who can command the full confidence of the general population because they can speak freely and frankly as to their wants and wishes.

IRELAND.

THE War Cabinet have offered a partial satisfaction of the demand of public opinion in the United Kingdom for the publication of the overwhelming evidence, which they stated was in the possession of Government, of the complicity of the Sinn Fein leaders in a German-Irish conspiracy to create a revolution in Ireland. It can hardly be supposed that this partial revelation will be sufficient to reassure a public that is apparently not completely separated by repeated doses of the depressing operations of the Defence of the Realm Act, or hypnotised by the glamouring eloquence of Mr. Lloyd George's appeals for a free and unrestricted hand for the men in charge of the destinies of the Empire at this mighty-juncture. It cannot be too often repeated that it will profit the British Empire, or any of the Allies, nothing, if while strenuously engaged in destroying the evil spirit of Prussianism they lose their own soul. And the sort of procedure which has been adopted

in India in the treatment of criminal conspiracies, and which is now being copied in the United Kingdom in connection with the Irish conspiracy, is highly liable to produce that result. It appears to us that the Imperial Government in the course they have followed in the statement now made to the public,—revealing just as much as they consider sufficient to assure the public that a conspiracy has been actually in existence,—are more concerned with fending criticism off their own shoulders than in satisfying public justice. For public justice requires that, even in time of war, men accused of grave crimes against the State should be brought to open trial and given the fullest opportunity of proving their innocence, if they are innocent.

That a seditious conspiracy has been in existence we need not and do not doubt. That it is a wicked, as well as a stupid conspiracy, as much against the true interests of Ireland as inimical to the interests of the Empire at large, and what is more important, the great and transcendant object for which Great Britain and her Allies are waging a struggle to the death,—that, every sane person, without bothering ourselves with pathetic and conventional laments about disloyalty, recognises. And the majority of intelligent Irishmen, including the whole of the Nationalist party, and, probably, even the greater part of those who have been driven by the provocative Irish policy of the Government to a platonic sympathy with Sinn Feinism, are sane on this point. But Irishmen are traditionally suspicious of the discovery of conspiracies by the British Government and they are historically justified. The most important consideration, at the present moment,—the consideration which should transcend all others, if only from the point of view of expediency, is that the bulk of the Irish people, who as Mr. Shortt, the Chief Secretary, the other day declared, are antipathetic to such a conspiracy as that which has been revealed, should not be driven into the camp of the active disloyalists or confirmed in their tendency to sulk in their tents. It seems to us that the manner in which the War Cabinet are treating this grave matter is hardly calculated to avoid, but rather to encourage, such a result. If the confidence of the bulk of the Irish people is to be restored and retained, two things are absolutely essential. The first is that the Government should eschew the temptation to follow the easy course of accepting approval by the flunkey press and anti-Irish organs like the

"Morning Post," of the policy of wholesale internment without public trial or investigation, and pay heed rather to those independent organs of public opinion, organs which undoubtedly represent the mind of the British democracy, which call for such investigation. It would be deplorable to think that the Prime Minister is so overawed by the Tory junta, which sits in judgment over him in the War Cabinet, as to ignore the demand of the "Daily News" for "evidence much more specific than mere proof of German machinations" or at least "the examination of such evidence by competent and impartial judges," the reasoned appeal of the "Daily Chronicle" for "a more substantial justification of the recent arrests," and, perhaps, more notable still, the demand of *the "Daily Express" for a public trial of the alleged conspirators.* The Government have at present only established a *prima facie* case for the existence of an atrocious conspiracy. But more than this is essential. Arrests have been carried out on a wholesale scale. Those arrests have to be justified. That can only be done by public trial, inconvenient as it may be. If the doctrines of the Milner-Curzon school are allowed to prevail over what should be the doctrines of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Barnes, then we may say farewell to any prospect of reconciling the Irish people to the extent of securing their zealous co-operation in the prosecution of the War. The second essential is that the Government should make up their minds once and for all to deal honestly with Ireland in the matter of Home Rule,—to give her what is hers by right of legislative enactment and the solemn commitments of the present Government and its predecessor.

Unfortunately there are indications that Mr. Lloyd George is suffering from the effects of his evil environment, the reactionary association to which he is daily condemned. It would be hard to imagine anything more unfortunate, more calculated to defeat the object which ought to be his prime concern, than the speech of the Prime Minister in Edinburgh in reference to Ireland. What a time to hold up Scotland as a superior model to her troubled sister across the channel! If Scotland had suffered one-tenth of the grievances and wrongs which have been inflicted on Ireland during the last four hundred years we should see a very different Scotland to-day. It is a very horrifying thing that Irish Sinn Feiners should propound the proposition that because Germany is England's enemy, therefore she

is Ireland's friend. The wrongs of Ireland may not be relevant to the present world-struggle for the preservation of the smaller nationalities in the view of a Welsh Prime Minister. But if facts and the present situation in Ireland and what has produced it are looked squarely in the face, they should be as relevant in the view of the impartial observer as they are, inevitably and irremediably,—whatever Mr. Lloyd George may say,—in the mind of the average Irishman, be he Nationalist or Sinn Feiner. What has produced the Irishman who regards any enemy of England as his friend, without relevance to the latter's character, be it good or bad? The atrocities of Cromwell and the long sequence of exploitation, repression, deceit, open provocation of rebellion, during the succeeding two centuries, the dishonesty of the Act of Union, neglected famines with their resultant decimation of the population, Coercion Acts and Lord Salisbury's "twenty years of resolute Government!" And to come down to date, what has been the policy of Britain during the war? When the war broke out Ireland was on the eve of the consummation of her aspirations. There was a loyal and enthusiastic Ireland. The Government has persistently and consistently played into the hands of the disloyal element. It has cheated Ireland of Home Rule. And when it professes to set to work to right this wrong, it appoints Mr. Walter Long as its Adviser on Irish affairs! Could insult and provocation go further? What does Mr. Lloyed George expect from such a policy? An enthusiastic rush to the colours? It does not lie in his mouth to rebuke and condemn Irishmen for sulking. He has given them enough to sulk for. Let him and his colleagues deal honestly and justly by Ireland, now and instantly, in regard to the two essentials of a loyal Ireland we have indicated above and Great Britain will earn the right to expect a loyal Ireland. But so long as justice is refused, reproaches are as vain as they are unjustified.

A MISCARRIAGE OF JUSTICE.

A GRAVE miscarriage of justice, in our opinion, occurred on Wednesday in the Acting Second Presidency Magistrate's Court. Most of our readers, probably, are acquainted with the circumstances of the case in which Ramsingh Virsinhji was charged with voluntarily causing hurt to Sagirthi, a girl aged 10, niece of the accused's wife. The case was reported at length in our columns last week. The prosecution was instituted by Mr. Ardeshir B. Chothia, a member of the Committee of the Children's Refuge. The notable features of the case were, one, the horrifying description of the alleged treatment of the little girl by the accused, as related by several respectable and impartial witnesses and, two, the truculent attitude displayed by the accused in Court, towards the Magistrate and everybody concerned. According to the evidence of the prosecution, the accused had habitually beaten and otherwise ill-treated the child without mercy. One witness said, one day he kicked her like a football, on another day this witness heard cries and sounds of beating with a stick. The next day the girl had serious injuries on the fingers, ear and head. Another witness said the injuries on one occasion were so shocking that "she could not bear the sight of them." "The left ear was split, and her finger was either torn, or swollen, and the back was full of weals." A medical gentleman who heard the screams and cries of the girl afterwards examined her and confirmed the statement as to the marks of injury on the back, the wounds on the scalp and ear. The evidence, in fact, went to show that the girl was treated by the accused as a drudge and brutally ill-treated if she did not satisfy his requirement as to the services he conceived he was entitled to exact from her.

So much for the story told by the prosecution. As to the accused's attitude, Mr. Chothia stated in evidence that when he refused to compound the case at accused's request the latter threatened to murder him if he went on with it. Mrs. Darasha B. Mehta, wife of the accused's employer, said that, after the information was filed, the accused came to her and said "he would kill anybody who would fight out his case in

the Court." And the accused himself admitted that he had sent the girl out of Bombay to prevent her being called to give evidence, and in defiance of the Court. He also admitted having beaten the girl but "not in such a way as to endanger her life." The Magistrate at this stage refused to allow a medical witness to be called to show whether a charge under section 324 I. P. C. would be justified and said he would frame a charge of the minor grade under section 323 (simple hurt.) The medical witness, he said, could be examined on the point *afterwards*. This refusal to go into the question of the more serious charge is important in view of the "compounding" of the case later. The case was then adjourned for defence witnesses to be called. On the case being called on Wednesday, Mr. M. De Cruz, pleader for the accused, stated that "the case had been compounded out of Court by the parties aggrieved." He added that Mr. Chothia was downstairs. The Magistrate thereupon acquitted the accused. Immediately after, Mr. Chothia appeared in the Court, assured the Magistrate that he had not compounded the case and that he had gone downstairs to escort the lady witnesses. The Magistrate, however, said he had no power to change his order. Later, Mr. Chothia appeared with his pleader and the latter explained that he (the pleader) was under the impression that the case was fixed for 12-30 as that was the time given on the summons issued to the House Surgeon of the J. J. Hospital. The Magistrate, without enquiry into this important detail, managed to satisfy himself with the announcement that postponed cases were usually taken first in his Court. He had no reason to disbelieve Mr. De Cruz's word as a practitioner of the Court. He had fixed no time for the case, —and there was nothing on the record. We have a high respect for Mr. Oliviera as a just, able and impartial Magistrate but we regret that we must say he showed want of discrimination in this case. In the first place, the case was not one which could be regarded as a mere ordinary dispute or squabble between two private parties. The prosecution was instituted by a member of a public institution for the protection of children and it would be inconceivable to the ordinary mind that a case of such a character would be compounded. We consider the Magistrate should have sent for Mr. Chothia, on hearing that he was in the precincts of the Court, to obtain from him the confirmation or otherwise of this extremely surprising conclusion to

a case of this character. It is true that under the Code, it was within the competence of the girl herself to compound the charge under Section 323. But Mr. De Cruz was not the pleader for the girl, and, to say the least, the Magistrate was wanting in discrimination in his failure to call the girl in order that he might satisfy himself that a proper and legitimate arrangement had been made and that the girl had not been bullied or terrorised into compliance. Indeed it seems to us it was the absolute duty of the Magistrate, in such a case, in view of the tender age of the party aggrieved, the improbability of her understanding properly the significance of such an arrangement as the "compounding" of a case, and the public importance of the matter to insist upon her production in Court for examination by him on the point. Secondly, after the acquittal, however irrevocable the Magistrate's order, his duty did not end with the announcement of this lamentable fact. The matter required to be cleared up. We think the Magistrate should have sent for the accused's pleader and sought an explanation from him as to how he came to make the statement that the case had been compounded, in view of Mr. Chothia's unequivocal assurance that there had been no suggestion of compounding it. In view of the public importance of this case, it is most lamentable that the Court should have allowed the accused to slip out of its hands so easily. The result is that a man, who, if the prosecution case had been established, deserved a heavy punishment in the public interest, manages to evade the decision of the Court by what on the face of it was a daring trick. And a public-spirited attempt to deal with an example of a grave social abuse is defeated. We wish there were some means of re-opening this matter, for Ramsing Virsinhji has decidedly won a victory over public justice.

THE N. P. D.

NOTHING need surprise us in these days of paradox—not even the fact that Lord Milner, a gentleman of Prussian descent and pure Prussian deportment, is allowed to draft a document, on behalf of the Government of which Mr. Lloyd George is Prime Minister, which constitutes a flat contradiction of the principle of self-determination. We need be the less surprised of the discovery which has, however, not unreasonably surprised Mrs. Besant, that the inquisitiveness of Mr. Robertson, Political Secretary to the Government of Bombay, extends to the cheques she draws on London and the agents she chooses to use for their transmission and encashment. The question, how far inquisitiveness of this kind on the part of the Government official should be allowed to go, is one of high ethics which could only be decided in those halls of honour where our honourable officials of the P. D. and the C. I. D., who have to sacrifice a natural delicacy of character on the altar of duty foregather and either instruct or are instructed in the elastic principles which govern official conduct in these matters. The uninstructed—and we fear uninstructable—layman, who is only acquainted with the principles which should guide a gentleman in the matter of poking his nose into other people's concerns, can only stand aghast when he beholds these occasional revelations of practices, which have always been regarded, not only as the very antithesis of all that becomes a gentleman in his private and public conduct, but so repugnant to every notion of decency in the British code of honour as to be banned and shunned in British administration and left to the less scrupulous taste of foreign Governments. But British Government departments, especially in India, have made great progress of late years in the process of discarding the susceptibilities which make the practical work of investigating people's private affairs difficult and inconvenient. And disgusting to those with a sense of propriety as the sort of revelation which Mrs. Besant makes must be, we can assure such people that they would be still further astonished and disgusted if they could be aware of the extent to which this sort of thing is carried and the unsuspected interest which the "Nosey Parkers" of certain departments take in all sorts

of matters which do not really concern them in the least, which no respectable people ought to touch with a barge pole, and which are of no real value or proper interest to a Government department, except for uses which could not be defended by any sort of concern for the public interest as distinct from the interests of the official junta. We are afraid Mrs. Besant's sarcasm will fall on the backs of some very pachydermatous hides. But she is right, perhaps, in supposing that an appeal to the sense of honour of Lord Willingdon, who has not spent twenty years or so in the bureaucratic fold, may put a stop to the annoyance to which she and her friends have been subjected.

TRUST AND WIN !

THE enthusiasm displayed and the speeches made at the crowded public meeting of Indian citizens of Calcutta, on Wednesday, should be a sufficient demonstration to the Government of India,—if a demonstration were necessary,—of the response that would be made to the Premier's call to the country if the Government went about the task in the right manner. Trust the people and you get the best service out of them was the burden of the speeches. The resolution passed by the meeting said, that "in order to ensure full services of the measures necessary for the defence of India and the British Empire, his Majesty's Government should declare a general amnesty to all political prisoners, detenus and internees and should immediately take measures to raise an army of Bengalis and train a sufficient number of them as officers with English commissions." Mr. Das said that if Government released all political prisoners, that would create such enthusiasm in the country that it would ensure the complete success of the campaign of recruitment. What is true of Bengal is true of all parts of the country. What is required is the abandonment of the existing stupid policy of distrust. We cannot believe that the Government at this critical juncture will fail to realise the responsibility that will rest upon their shoulders if they fail

to remove all the obstacles to that full and complete co-operation of the Indian people in the mighty effort that the Empire is called upon to put forth for its own salvation and the maintenance of Liberty in the World. We regard it as fortunate in the highest degree that the Secretary of State should be in India at the present moment, thus enabling frank and intimate discussion of the situation and the measures to be adopted between him and the Viceroy. And it is encouraging to learn that they have immediately returned to Simla to consider the situation, not because Simla is an ideal atmosphere for the conception of a broad and statesmanlike policy free from all the petty considerations with which the official mind clouds every large issue, but because it indicates realisation of the tremendous importance of the occasion. We believe Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu can be trusted to initiate the only policy that at this moment can win the response from the people of this country that they are only too eager to give,—if they are trusted.

We hope that other provinces will not lag behind Bengal in responding in similar trumpet tones to the Premier's trumpet call. But let us know first of all that the trumpet call is to be properly interpreted by those in authority in this country. We have observed with regret the efforts that are being made in certain quarters to throw cold water on the suggestion to utilise to the fullest extent possible the man-power of India. We thought the day had past for such sophistical excuses as that Indian soldiers give of their best only when brigaded with British troops. We would ask those who still cherish these pre-war delusions to mark well the generous tribute paid by Mr. Lloyd George in his speech in the Commons to the services of the Indian troops in Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia. There is one whole division of British troops, the Premier told the House, in Mesopotamia and only three in Egypt and Palestine, and in frank recognition of what the Indian troops are doing, which is a refreshing contrast to the niggling spirit in which these matters are still discussed in this country, he added:

> It was not the fact that we had three divisions in Egypt and Palestine and one in Mesopotamia that enabled us to hold our own; we owed it to the splendid troops from India, many of whom were volunteers since the war and who had been more than a match for the Turks on many a stricken field.

It is amazing in the light of all that has happened in this war,—the revolutionary changes that have been introduced in every belligerent country, but especially in the British Empire, the systems that have been turned topsy-turvy or abolished and the experiments that have been boldly adopted—it is amazing that we should be asked to listen to such puerile and irrelevant pleas as the danger of swopping horses while crossing the stream,—a feat that Abraham Lincoln himself had to perform and which has been carried out more than once in England during this war,—the advantage of expanding an old system over creating a new one in the face of the enemy and the plain duty of the military authorities not to launch experiments. Even the slow moving and cumbrous minds in charge of military policy in India have done that. Is not the Indian Defence Force an experiment and the creation of a new system?

There are limits to the expansion of an old system. That was realised in England and conscription was introduced. What is clear is that no amount of expansion of a voluntary and class system will enable you more than to skim the man-power of the country. India's man-power forms a wonderful reserve and nothing would be more simple, if the Government has a mind to it, than to create a territorial system side by side with that of the regular army in India and thus create a reserve which could be called upon as required. The problems of paraphernalia and equipment are not insoluble if they are faced boldly and accorded a little thinking. Great Britain will presently have called up and equipped every man available, and the turning out of equipment can then be directed to other quarters, including India. the latter rendering such help in this respect as she is able. Nearly all the objections regarding difficulty of rapid organisation and the contempt for enthusiasts who require to be "corrected by a study of the organisation of armies," would have been readily accepted if applied to England before the War changed all our previous conceptions and ideas wholesale. We decline to listen to them now as applied to India. A very much larger use of India's man power is undoubtedly possible. But a new system is required. The man who volunteers or is conscripted for India's teritorial army as well as for the regular army, must feel like the soldier of other armies, that he carries a field marshal's baton in his knapsack and that men of his own race, are not debarred from the commissioned ranks but can enter them on equal terms with the youth

from England. And the paralysing policy of political distrust must be removed in order that he may feel to the fullest extent that he is a soldier of liberty, fighting for full freedom in his own country as well as in others.

BY WHOSE AUTHORITY?

We are come to save our own honour and to uphold our ideals.. ...... But we are come also for the preservation, the deepening and the extension of free government. Our creed is the simple and immortal creed of democracy, which means government set up by the governed; for this alone can prevent physical, or intellectual or moral enslavement.

WE have heard a great deal of late of the ideals for which the great struggle now in progress is being waged. Mr. Lloyd George, at the same time that he took occasion to congratulate India on sharing in these ideals, told Russia that foremost among them was that of "popular government" which the Russian people had just achieved. Dr. Page, the American Ambassador in London, at a banquet which was given to welcome the entry of the United States into the war, embodied the ideals of the Allies in the new phrase which is quoted above, and expressed the inevitable results of failing to put the "immortal creed of democracy" into practice in precise terms, which nobody, who has had occasion to observe the demoralising and emasculating effects of autocratic or bureaucratic rule either in present or past times, would dare to deny. It need hardly be said that Dr. Page's fine enunciation of what a London journal subsequently labelled the "Anglo-Saxon creed" was received with enthusiastic cheers. It is very gratifying to think that the creed is being extended in practice throughout the world, that in Russia the governed have already set up their own government, that we look forward to the achievment of a similar emancipation of Poland as one of the results of the victory of the Allies, and that even the Germans in the wretched hour of their defeat will be rescued from the thraldom of Kaiserism, junkerism and bureaucraticism and become their own masters.

The unsophisticated Indian, however, who has been looking forward to his share of the good things that are to be won for the world by the war, is every now and then brought up with a round turn by uncompromising gubernatorial declarations that for him the immortal creed of democracy is impracticable, and its realisation a distant prospect that neither he nor his rulers can yet envisage, until his state of mind must be akin to that of the unfortunate gentleman at Lady Veneering's dinner party, who found it impossible to keep his mental balance amid the confusing contradictions of political opportunism and party tactics.

The latest to take upon himself to declare a policy for India is Lord Pentland. In winding up the business of his Council yesterday his Excellency delivered an astounding speech. He began with a defence of the recent order placing restrictions on the freedom of college students totally unrelated to the terms of the order. One would think, to read Lord Pentland's naive description of the intentions with which the order was issued and the effects which, in his view, it is likely to have, that he had been removing restrictions instead of imposing them. Apparently his anxiety is to encourage students to study politics, not to eschew them, and thus to fit themselves fully for their future place in public life. "These orders," he says, "are intended to do justice to the students, to secure to them their rights as students, and the same opportunities as are enjoyed by students in other countries." These rights are apparently comprised in the freedom which will still remain to them "to acquaint themselves in their college debating societies and by such means with politics and public affairs of the world which they are about to enter";—which means that they are to be allowed to discuss such things as the bureaucracy in its infinite wisdom may consider good for them. Of the real world which lies beyond they are to learn nothing, if Lord Pentland's orders can prevent them, and they will enter it, when their time comes, quite unready and unfitted to play any part in the practical discussions and activities which are stirring the nation. When Lord Pentland says that his orders are intended to secure for students the same rights as are enjoyed by students in other countries, he brings us to the point where the limits of polite controversy have been exhausted, and one wonders what sort of a world he himself is living in. This wonder is increased by a perusal of the rest of his speech, for Lord Pentland's outlook on the political life and future of India is as unrelated to actuality as his attempt to justify his policy of cramping the lives and mental

development of students in the Madras Presidency. The whole speech with its calm assumption that he carries with him the elected members of his Council in his denunciation of the demand for an immediate instalment of responsible self-government, shows Lord Pentland to be so profoundly ignorant of the real state of political opinion in this country, that it might be allowed to pass with a smile; were it not that the fact that it comes from the Governor of Madras and is addressed to his Legislative Council, makes it necessary to ask by whose authority he has taken upon himself to declare that the demand of the nineteen members of the Imperial Council, which, as everyone knows who knows anything, represents the demand of educated India, is totally outside the range of practical politics, and that "all thoughts of the early grant of responsible self-government should be put out of mind," and to add to this a threat that if agitation for reform on these lines is not discontinued forthwith, the Government will be forced to take action to discourage what he is pleased to call "unwise and dangerous methods" and "extravagant aims."

It is hardly conceivable that Lord Pentland would have taken upon himself to deliver this ultimatum to the political leaders of the country without the knowledge that his declaration would be approved in higher quarters, difficult as it is to believe that such is actually the case. But it is essential that the country should know without delay whether Lord Pentland has been authorised to make this declaration of war on the movement for self-government or not, and if so, by whose authority he makes it. Is this merely the policy of Lord Pentland, is it the policy of Lord Chelmsford, or is it the message which the Secretary of State delivers to India on behalf of the British democracy, whose fundamental creed is "government set up by the governed?" If Lord Pentland has taken upon himself to enunciate this policy of reaction, for it is nothing less, without authority, the sooner his declaration is repudiated and superseded by one which is truly representative of the desires and intentions of the British democracy and duly attuned to the aspirations and demands of educated India, and the sooner he is recalled, the better.

A POLICE MYSTERY.

RUMOUR has been very busy during the past week or so regarding the sudden termination of the services of an officer of the C. I. D., Bombay, of long standing, who had presumably hitherto enjoyed the confidence of his superiors. Some ten days ago or so this officer was called upon at a moment's notice to sever his connection with the Police Service, and, we believe, was invited at the same time to quit the shores of India. Behind all this, it is reported, is hidden a scandal of considerable dimensions. The question is how far the police authorities are entitled to dispose of a matter of this kind in this hole and corner way. We believe the officer in question was given the alternative of resignation or dismissal and chose the former. But whether this be so or not, it is pertinent to ask what justification exists for hiding from the public the full knowledge of an affair of this kind. Public confidence in the C. I. D., is not great. It is not likely to be increased if it is thought that the authorities are afraid to acquaint the public with the circumstances under which an officer of long service, entrusted with duties of a peculiarly confidential and delicate character, and who wears the King's Medal, is suddenly compelled to leave the service and practically deported from the country. For more reasons than one it is essential that the Government should make a full communication to the public of the details of this mysterious affair, and especially that it should be explained why it has been disposed of in the way that it has. Are we to take it that prosecutions are for the public only and not for the police if they transgress the law? We put this question not without good reason. Not very lately a case came to our notice in which a sub-inspector of the Divisional Police, who was exposed as having accepted illegal gratification, was given the alternative of resignation or dismissal. Why? Why was he not prosecuted? And why,—we speak in this connection without reference to any particular case,—if an officer of the C. I. D., were detected in the commission of offences punishable by law, which in the case of an ordinary individual would set the whole machinery of the C. I. D. in motion for his prosecution and conviction, should he be allowed to shake the dust of the country off his shoes and depart in comparative peace

and,—no doubt,—comparative comfort? Very likely the late Commissioner had his own reasons for allowing the individual to resign in the case we have mentioned. A lot of trouble is saved by the adoption of such a course. The curtain is drawn over an ugly affair which might bring discredit on the name of the force. And that is no doubt regarded as undesirable. But the good name of the police is not a family affair to be settled in accordance with the susceptibilities of the heads of the family at the top of Hornby Road. It is a matter of public concern and the public are strongly interested to know why a policeman should be allowed to slink out by the back-door of resignation instead of being dealt with according to law. It is the duty of the police to see that offenders are brought to book under the law. By what right can they arrogate to themselves the privilege, when a police officer gets into trouble, of assisting him to evade the proper consequences of his misdeeds? These are questions to which the public would like to have answers, and answers to which they are entitled; if the authorities concerned can spare a little time from their activities in harassing individuals who are not known to have offended against any of the laws of the State, but who have attracted the interest of the police for reasons which it is not easy to fathom. And, we may add, that the matter is not one for the police authorities alone, but for the full consideration of the Government of Lord Willingdon, to whom the public look for the preservation of the integrity of the administration in all its branches. If anything scandalous has occured it must be ventilated. It is better that this should be done, in the first instance, by Government.

MR. VINCENT'S ORIGINALITY.

MR. Vincent, Commissioner of Police, has some highly original ideas. One is that people are entitled to Police protection on a scale graduated according to their wealth. Another is that the common or garden hack victoria is a nice, handy vehicle for taking people in a dying condition to hospital. Last February, it will be remembered, a man who had been run over by a motor car was taken in a victoria to the Goculdas Tejpal Hospital where he was refused admission. While he was being taken out of the gate, in the victoria, to another hospital he died. The Coroner

commented very severely on the apparent fact that there were no properly fitted ambulances for victims of such serious cases. The sight of the carriage of a seriously injured and dying man in an open vehicle, he said, was a disgrace to Bombay. The jury endorsed these remarks and so did the Press and everybody else. Then the Secretary of the Trade Association came forward, and reminded the public and everyone concerned that the Association some years ago presented seven wheeled ambulances to the City for the very purpose spoken of by the Coroner. Since then the Secretary of the Association has been assiduously pursuing his inquiries as to what had become of these ambulances. The mystery has been at last solved by the extraction of a letter from the Commissioner of Police dated April 24th,—in reply to a letter from the Secretary of the Association dated March 28th.—stating that the seven ambulances are at present located at the different police stations in this city. Mr. Vincent goes on to inform the Association that the ambulances so kindly supplied by them "can never replace the convenient and speedy method of taking injured persons to hospital in a victoria." He "fully realises that a victoria is not the best conveyance for a seriously injured person," but the delay involved "by calling up an ambulance at the nearest police station and taking the injured person to the hospital at a walking pace might possibly be more injurious." It appears, according to the worthy Commissioner, that the only solution is a fleet of motor ambulances on the Liverpool system and for that we shall have to wait till after the war!

It is almost incredible that such a farrago of nonsense should be seriously advanced by the official who is responsible for the safety and protection of the public as an excuse for not making a proper use of these vehicles. The average hack victoria is hardly what anyone else would have described as a speedy vehicle, and we doubt whether it gets along very much faster than speedy walkers wheeling an ambulance ought to do. Most doctors we imagine would agree that a seriously injured person would be in a better case having to wait a few more minutes for an ambulance, in which he could be conveyed with comfort, than if he were bundled into a hack victoria in which he could not lie at full length and in which his sufferings would increase in equal ratio to the extent to which the driver attempted to speed up his horse. As for the delay in calling up an ambulance, Mr. Vincent may be reminded, that in the case that gave rise to such severe comment, the accident took place only a few minutes walk from one of the stations

where an ambulance is located, and it is doubtful whether the delay would have been any greater than that involved in the calling of a victoria. It is obvious that if there are cases in which a speedy arrival at the hospital is desirable there are as many cases in which the conveyance of the victim in a victoria, especially one of the speedy variety instead of a proper ambulance, would be almost certainly fatal. Wheeled ambulances were used long before motors were ever thought of but we never yet heard that it was not always considered in the case of possibly mortal injury better to wait for an ambulance than to use a vehicle of the hackney carriage type We may assume that the Coroner, who is a medical man, is a better authority on the question than Mr. Vincent who has elected, in his wisdom, apparently that these ambulances, which were presented at some expense to the City for the very purpose for which he prefers that hack victorias should be used, should lie unused in his police stations.

BOMBAY C. I. D. SCANDAL.

A month has passed since we referred to the sudden termination of the services of an officer of the C. I. D. of long standing who was called upon at a moment's notice to sever his connection with the Police Service. We protested at the time against the action of the authorities responsible for the procedure adopted in this case and we added

> "the matter is not one for the police authorities alone, but for the full consideration of the Government of Lord Willingdon, to whom the public look for the preservation of the integrity of the administration in all its branches. If anything scandalous has occured it must be ventilated. It is better that this should be done, in the first instance, by Government."

The public are still waiting to be enlightened regarding this mystery. We trust that the Government of Bombay does not suppose that it can remain a mystery merely because they choose to accept the action of those responsible for the acceptance of this individual's resignation and let the matter rest there. If such is the case it must be said at once without any equivocation that the facts will ultimately have to be made

public and that there are other ways of bringing that about if the Government of Bombay, do not themselves choose to justify the confidence that has hitherto been reposed in their solicitude for "the integrity of the administration in all its branches," which is not to be preserved by attempting to cover up ugly scandals. We have no desire to labour the matter but it must be emphasised that the public have a right to know why a police officer, who was entrusted with duties of the most comprehensively and gravely confidential nature, when faced with charges of such a character that he preferred to resign rather than face an enquiry, was actually allowed to resign. It must be repeated that not only the credit of the Criminal Investigation Department but the credit of the Government itself is involved in this matter. If it is allowed to remain a mystery, until the whole unpleasant business has been unearthed by the pressure of public opinion, that credit will suffer a very severe blow.

We have already commented on the grave impropriety of permiting police officers, whose duty it is to seek out and prosecute offenders against the law and get them duly punished, themselves to avoid the processes of the law if they are charged with having offended against it. And such a very obvious principle of public morality and expediency ought not to need further emphasis. But the entire absence of any sign that the authorities realise the necessity of reassuring the public that there were good and sound reasons for the course that was adopted in the case under reference makes it necessary to remind them of the grave impropriety of such procedure. It is further necessary to point out that in this particular case, the reasons for a full disclosure and explanation are the more urgent, having regard to the nature of the charges that, it is alleged, were made against the individual in question. A few weeks ago the city was ringing with the iniquities of a crime that disclosed the existence of a most horrible state of affairs in regard to the trade of exploiting prostitution in Bombay. The Government and the police in particular have been urged from many quarters to take some action for the remedying of this state of affairs. But whatever they may have done or be proposing to do, the public up to the present have been kept in the dark. In the meanwhile it is discovered that an officer, whose duties brought him into special relationship with certain classes of the wretched people who are naturally enough the easy victims of anyone in authority who chooses to blackmail them, has resigned on being faced with allegations of a very grave character and has been allowed quietly to quit the

service. The moral of all this does not need elaboration. The vista of possibilities that it opens up is altogether appalling. We put it plainly to Lord Willingdon, for it seems hopeless to stir the official mind, whether he considers it consistent with the integrity and prestige of his administration that there should be any further delay, either in ordering the fullest investigation into this matter, or, in the alternative, assuring the public, who have been discussing it very freely, that the course adopted by the Commissioner of Police was one of which the Government approve and stating their reasons for such approval.

THE SLAVE MARKET OF BOMBAY.

THE trial concluded yesterday in the Court of Sessions of the Bombay High Court of a case the circumstances of which reveal in a vivid light and in the most hideous conceivable colouring the existence in our midst of social abominations which are a reproach to civilisation. The case has not been reported at any length in our columns, because the story of the slow torture and ultimate doing to death of a poor forlorn woman,—who had probably never had any alternative to the forced life of intolerable shame and misery she was leading,—which was told in all its detail in the court, is one so full of repulsive and unprintable horrors that it would be impossible in a public report to give an adequate idea of its utterly unmitigated enormity. It was the story of a young woman, a prostitute, who having come into the clutches of persons hardly human, utterly merciless and without qualification of the dominating instinct to gain by the exploitation of her shame, attempted to rebel in her feeble way, even to escape, and was punished by every sort of fearful torture that fiendish cruelty and filthy ingenuity could invent, until death ended the incredible horror of her existence. The jury had no hesitation in bringing in a verdict of guilty against all the three accused persons. Two of them, the keeper of the brothel, the chief actor and author of the crime, and his principal assistant, a woman, were sentenced to death, the third, also a woman, was recommended to mercy by the jury on account of the slightly lesser part she had played in the series of horrible events

and was sentenced to transportation for life. The property of the man, consisting of the accumulations accruing from the shameful earnings of his victims, it is satisfactory to add, was ordered to be forfeited to the Crown.

So much for the vindication of justice in this particular instance. The question is whether the public conscience is to rest satisfied with the vengeance which the law is able to meet out for the death of one wretched woman among hundreds who are leading a similar existence and many others, for all one knows, who may even have met with such an end as hers. As to that we would first of all draw attention to two points in connection with this particular case which were very rightly commented on by the Judge in his direction to the jury. The first was that the murderers of the woman were able to go to the Municipal Office and obtain a pass for the admission of the body to the burning ground from a municipal *ramosi*, who granted the certificate after a perfunctory inspection of a covered-up corpse. His lordship remarked on the gravity of the fact that such a thing should be possible and most people will agree that some more strict procedure is essentially required in regard to the disposal of the dead, in order effectually to prevent the taking away of the bodies of deceased persons for disposal without a proper assurance that death has been due to natural causes. This is not the first time that the municipal *ramosi* has been brought into the glare of publicity in this respect. It is monstrous that in a civilised community, a mere menial should be able to give what answers the purpose of a certificate of death, and we suggest that the law should be immediately altered so that the signature either of a private medical man, a qualified municipal health officer or the Coroner will be necessary before a corpse can be removed for burial or burning. In this case the discovery that a crime had been committed was due solely to the intelligence and initiative of a police havildar whose suspicions were aroused by the conduct of the first accused at the time the body was being removed. He took upon himself there and then to arrest the man and to have the body brought back pending further enquiries. By such a chance did these wretches fail in successfully disposing of a body that bore marks of frightful ill-treatment. The officer concerned fully deserves the commendations that were passed on his conduct by the jury and the judge and it is to be hoped that he will receive due recognition. But that it was a mere chance that an intelligent officer happened to be on the scene remains. God knows how many bodies of people who may have met their death by violent

means are quietly disposed of in Bombay on the certificate of a municipal *ramosi*. The law in this respect clearly needs to be amended.

But is the public conscience going to rest there? Is nothing to be done to mitigate, if not to exterminate, the horrors that are in daily progress in the district where this crime occurred? Let us speak quite plainly. It would be a crime not to do so when the opportunity is at hand that may be used to rouse the authorities and the public in regard to this matter. Mr. Justice McLeod in his summing up described the state of slavery in which the women in the house kept by the man, Syedkhan, were living. The system is not common to this man alone. It is practised by a number and slavery is a word that is almost too respectable to describe it. Sometimes these women have adopted a prostitute's career of their own will, more often they have been enticed or kidnapped or even sold when quite young by their parents or guardians. At first they may be more or less independent beings but the meshes are gradually closed round them. They are lent money by the persons who exploit them or they become indebted for clothes or ornaments. Bonds are taken from them and in their ignorance they are easily intimidated into the belief that the hold over them is secure and irrevocable. Thus they remain in bondage, or are passed from one unscrupulous exploiter of their misery to another, who buys them with their debts. And what bondage? The woman who was killed in the case which has just been heard and her fellow-victims were on duty from nine in the morning till mid-day. Then they were allowed a meal and a brief rest. From early evening until midnight they were again on hire to all and sundry. We have no desire to dilate on this unwholesome subject more than is necessary but it is essential to bring home to the public the actual iniquity of what is going on day by day in a great civilised city. It is, therefore, necessary, as we have said, to speak plainly. It is the fact, we believe that enquiries have shown that these women may earn, say from five or six o'clock in the evening until midnight, anything up to ten rupees a night. Their customers pay an average fee of eight annas. More need not be said. Every one of these unfortunates is securely in the clutches of the man who owns the house they serve. They have no liberty whatever. Into all the revolting details of their existence we cannot go, but the penalty for rebellion or any attempt to escape, while it may not always be of the horrible character revealed in the case we have discussed, is

probably so in many instances, and in other cases is sufficiently deterrent usually to render the victims docile and subservient.

Apart from the social dangers attaching to such a form of unlicensed forced prosititution here is, therefore, the fact that unfortunate creatures of this character are every day in Bombay, and from day to day, subjected to illegal detention and under a state of perpetual intimidation and ill-treatment. We ask, is it not possible for the police in the first place to deal with this scandal with greater vigilance? Are they powerless altogether in the present state of the law at least to mitigate its horrors and lessen its extent? And, further, is it possible that the Government and the leaders of public opinion in view of the revelations in the Sessions Court this week. can refrain from moving in the matter in order to release those who are now thus enslaved and to protect others in the future? Many are aware no doubt of the extent to which the slave traffic in Bombay flourishes; few can have suspected the existence of such things as this case has revealed. Now that the revelation has been publicly made it is time for the police to be more active. It is time for the Government to consider how the law can be strengthened in order to deal with the abuses of prostitution. It is time for the leaders of the community to act in order that the authorities may be heartened by the pressure of public opinion and assisted by the expression of their views. As a beginning, we suggest that Government might appoint a thoroughly representative committee to go into the whole question and investigate it in all its aspects.

THE REFORM PROPOSALS.

The Special Conference of the Central Provinces and Berar met at the Sri Ram Theatre, Akola on the 11th August 1918. There was a full attendance of delegates and visitors, including about a hundred ladies. There was keen enthusiasm among those present and the members took considerable interest in the proceedings. The following is the full text of the Presidential address of Mr. Horniman. The address was well received and was listened to with profound interest and the speaker was frequently interrupted with cheers and applause.

I thank you sincerely for the honour you have done my by electing me as the President of this important joint Provincial Conference of the Central Provinces and Berar. I assure you that I use the word honour in no formal sense, for a heavy responsibility is laid upon the shoulders of one who is called upon to preside at such a gathering at this grave juncture in the history of India, and I feel that it is a signal mark of distinction and perhaps I may be allowed to say of trust that you have conferred upon me. (Hear, hear.) The responsibility of a public pronouncement on such an occasion and at such a time is indeed a heavy one, but I trust that I may be able to fulfil it to your satisfaction and justify your confidence.

But whatever the shortcomings of which I may be guilty in your view, I ask you to believe that the views I shall express have been formed on a most earnest consideration in my judgment of, what is best for India and her people. (Hear, hear) and after consultation and discussion with many of your leaders, those with whom I agree and some of those who do not agree with me on all points. Right or wrong, I have no motive to serve however, but the cause of the land of my adoption and the land of my birth and the great confederation of States of which they are a part. And I believe, as we must all believe, that the truest service to India, as it is the truest service also to England and the whole Empire, is to strive to attain for India and her people those rights which are the birth-rights of all peoples and to place her in a position of equality and full dignity with the free peoples of the world, as a trusted and trusting partner in the great Empire (Applause), the political greatness and economic wealth of which has been and must remain so largely dependent on her willingness and contenment to remain with it.

SPECIAL SESSION OF CONGRESS.

There is only one subject at this Conference which is uppermost in our minds and with which I think you will expect me to deal with, to the exclusion of almost everything else, and it will meet with your wishes I have no doubt, if I plunge at once in *medias res.* An event, extraordinary and unprecedented in the history of our National Congress, is to take place in a few days from now. A special session of the Congress, has been called to meet at the end of this month to consider and express an opinion upon the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford which has been recently published. And

the event is the most momentous, I think I may say, in the political history of India since the rule of the country was taken over by the British Crown. While, therefore, there may be other subsidiary pressing matters on which we may desire to express an opinion, and will be right in doing so, you will agree with me in thinking that our almost undivided attention, must be given to this greatest question of the Constitutional Reforms, which will decide the course of political progress in this country, its contentment or otherwise for many years to come, and that our main purpose at this Conference is to put forward our views on this great problem for the help and guidance of the special Session of the Congress in coming to a decision.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have no desire to detain you by entering into any elaborate historical retrospect, but I think it is essential that we should find first of all the basic principles on which we are to build and to that end I must refer, at the outset, first, to the constitutional aims and principles contained in the creed of the Congress and for which the Congress has been working for so many years past; and second, to the recent events which have led to the production of these proposals for reform on the part of His Majesty's Secretary of State and his Excellency the Viceroy. As regards the first, the Indian National Congress has always fought as its first aim to obtain for the people of India a voice in the management of its own affairs. We need not, however, go back further than, first, 1891, when as the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has recently reminded us, the Congress passed a Resolution demanding for the people of the country a "potential voice" in the management of their own affairs, and second, 1907 when the Congress in order definitely to formulate its position incorporated in its constitution Self-Government on the lines of that obtaining in the Self-Governing Dominions, as the aim which it sought to achieve by constitutional means. The attempt that was made in 1909, known as the Morley-Minto Reforms, to take a step in advance towards the satisfaction of our aspirations was but the merest tinkering with reform: it did not even pretend to do more than admit the elected representatives of public bodies and a few Indians selected by Government themselves to consultative and critical functions in the Government and administration of the country and, since the success of such a tentative and timid experiment depended entirely on the extent to which

a bureaucratic administration extended its consideration and co-operation to the non-official element in the Councils and acted upon its advice, it has not been a success at all. But had the Morley-Minto Reforms fulfilled all the expectations that even their authors hoped for them, they could not for very much longer have continued as a stop-gap to the ever-increasing demands of the Indian people to take a really substantial step on the road to self-government and to secure such a measure of control in the Councils of the Government as would give them the most effective voice in the management of their own affairs. "The spirit of Liberty" as the authors of the recent Report have said in discussing the pre-war situation "was abroad and active" and criticism was "combined with advocacy and progress and with demands that became steadily more insistent for a form of Government which would leave Indians free to rule India in a manner consistent with Indian ideas."

PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION.

Such was the atmosphere and the situation before the great cataclysm of 1914. We need not discuss what course events might have taken had it not been for that catastrophic event. I only want to note the situation. But in 1914 came the great adventure of Prussian Militarism and dominationism. It was quickly realised that Liberty would be nowhere safe in the world if this repulsive adventure of aggression were to succeed. It was not merely the liberty of France, Belgium or Servia that was involved. The liberty of the world was thereatened with destruction. What was the effect following upon this brutal shock to the impact of the moral sense of the great democratic and liberty-loving peoples? The whole lesson it taught was realised and expressed in the immortal phrase of President Wilson that "the world must be made safe for democracy," that every people must be free to decide for themselves the form of Government under which they should live; and that if the world was to remain at peace and humanity to be saved from the lust of domination the evils of race subjection, and the horrors of autocracy, there must be government everywhere only with the consent of the governed (Applause.) Thus, the angle of vision was changed and political preconceptions revised, British statesmen were the foremost in asserting and preaching the doctrine of self-determination. India might have been content to await the end of the War, before she called for a revision of her case and the application of these incontestable

maxims to herself. But she was forestalled by the other members of the Empire who began to demand and obtain a hearing for the demand for a greater, if not an equal voice, in its chief councils. Faced with the alternative of remaining a dependant—subject to the domination of the great colonies as well as the Mother-country—it was time for India to bestir herself and thus since 1915, the National Congress and its associated organisations have been energetically agitating for the immediate translation of these great and noble maxims regarding "self-determination" and "Government with the consent of the governed" into practice by the grant, without further delay, of a substantial measure of Responsible Government to India.

Congress-League Demands.

When we consider the uncompromising fashion in which the doctrine of "self-determination" has been preached from the house-tops by British statesmen, I think we may say that the Congress has been comparatively modest in its demands. (Hear, hear.) But in its modesty, it has been equally clear and uncompromising and the principles which it has asked to be laid down as the least that can be given as a first step towards the attainment of the full measure of responsibility are plain and I hope unchangeable. (Hear, hear.) In 1915 we passed a resolution calling for such an immediate measure of reform as would subject the executive government to effective popular control—that was when Sir S. P. Sinha presided—and instructed the All-India Committee to draw up a scheme of reforms on those lines in conjunction with the Council of the All-India Moslem League. In 1916, at Lucknow, we passed a resolution embodying that scheme, the leading principles of which I think it is useful and in fact necessary to recall, I will give briefly as defined by the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri :—

1 That the voice of the duly elected representatives of the people should prevail both in the Indian and the Provincial Legislative Councils.

2. The Legislative Councils should enjoy complete freedom of legislation subject to certain exclusions (Imperial defence, peace and war and foreign and political relations with other states).

3. The Legislative Councils should have full control of the finances of the country, including powers of taxation and regulation of expenditure and full fiscal autonomy.

4. The councils to have the power of controlling the executive though not of turning them out of office.

5. The public representatives to be elected by ballot on a direct and broad franchise.

6. The judiciary to be independent of the executive.

Ladies and gentlemen, if there is anything in this doctrine of self-determination, if it is sound teaching that the only proper sort of government is that where the government is responsible to the people, these are indeed very modest demands, which were put forward, let us remember, not as an extravagant and excessive request in the hope of getting something less, but as an irreducible minimum (Hear, hear) at any rate as general principles, devised in order to satisfy the demand for a transitional stage. Ladies and gentlemen, we have now to decide whether we are going to run away from or stand by our principles. (Loud cheers).

DECLARATION OF AUGUST 20, 1917.

Let us now turn to the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and recall briefly the circumstances which immediately produced it. At first the Government in this country met the agitation for an immediate declaration of policy and an early instalment of reform by a series of measures of repression, instigated by those at the centre of affairs in Delhi and Simla and which were an amazing negation of everything that was being shouted at the world by British statesmen and of the very ideals and principles for which Great Britain, with the freely-given aid of Indian blood and treasure, was waging war. That policy did not succeed. I do not suppose there has ever been an example so striking and instructive—though there have been many in the world's history—of repression defeating its own object. Those measures of repression only served to fan the flame of agitation into a veritable conflagration and the Government saw fit to change their attitude. The change came on August 20th 1917 when the Secretary of State made his famous declaration in the House of Commons and announced his intention of visiting this country in the following terms:

"The Policy of his Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institu-

tions with a view to the progressive realisation of Responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible, and that it is of the highest importance as a preliminary to considering what these steps should be that there should be a free and informal exchange of opinion between those in authority at Home and in India. His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided, with His Majesty's approval, that I should accept the Viceroy's invitation to proceed to India to discuss these matters with the Viceroy and Government of India, to consider with the Viceroy the views of local Governments, and to receive with him the suggestions of representative bodies and others.

"I would add that progress in this Policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of Indian peoples, must be the judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility."

Not a final verdict.

Well, Ladies and gentlemen, in 1917 the Indian National Congress reaffirmed the position taken up in 1915 and 1916. We expressed grateful satisfaction, I say the exact word over the pronouncement made by his Majesty's Secretary of State for India on behalf of the Imperial Government that its object is the establishment of Responsible Government in India and the Congress, urged "the necessity for the immediate enactment of a Parliamentary Statute providing for the establishment of Responsible Government for India at an early date, the full measure to be attained, within a time limit to be fixed in the Statute itself," and we expressed our "emphatic opinion that the Congress-League Scheme of Reforms ought to be immediately introduced by the statute as the first step in the process." I want it to be noted that when the Congress came to deal with the pronouncement of August 20, 1917, it confined itself to expressing its satisfaction with the declaration by his Majesty's Government that the establishment of responsible govern-

ment was the goal of British Policy in India, and ignoring the cautious and unsatisfactory terms of the rest of the pronouncement, proceeded to demand

(1) A Parliamentary Statute providing for the establishment of Responsible Government at an early date,

(2) the inclusion in the Statute of the date on which full Responsible Government should be attained, and

(3) the immediate adoption of the Congress-League Scheme as the first step.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am laying stress on this because it has been attempted in certain quarters to have it laid down that we are confined within the four corners of the announcement of August 20, 1917, and that we are thus bound by its limitations. It has even been stated that every subject of the King-Emperor, British or Indian, is absolutely bound by its terms. That is an extraordinary proposition to which, I do not think, anyone but its authors will assent. (Hear, hear). There is nothing sacrosanct about the announcement. It has even no constitutional sanctity. It was merely an announcement of policy on the part of the Government in power which may go out of power any moment and it is open to anyone to accept it or not as he chooses and thinks fit. What is clear, ladies and gentlemen, is that the Congress did not accept it. The Congress welcomed the declaration of policy, but as to the method of carrying out the policy it passed over the terms laid down in the announcement and it reiterated its own demand. (Applause). Ladies and gentlemen, it would be impossible that we could accept a pronouncement that is the very negation of the principle of self-determination and tells the people of this country, "We cannot deny your right to self-government but when you shall have it and the extent of the instalments to be doled out must be decided by us and not by you." (Hear, hear). That is clearly not self-determination but a denial of your right to have it, and no Indian or body or association of Indians, who believes in self-determination, or who believes that the country is fit for responsible government or who voted for the Congress resolutions of 1915, 1916 and 1917 could accept it without stultifying himself and abandoning the whole position taken up by the Congress in those resolutions (loud cheers). N[illegible], [illegible] and

that, while the educated classes have made striking progress in their political development during the last few years, the masses are still ignorant and "need the protection of the bureaucracy" (Cheers) "the basis of a system of responsibility is a lively and effective sense of sanctity of other people's rights" and that sense is not yet developed in India—I suppose it is the exclusive monopoly of the bureaucrats!—cleavages of religion, race and caste; abysmal ignorance; unequal distribution of wealth; the small proportion of people who interest themselves in, or know anything about politics; the inarticulate state of the ryot and his contentment and appreciation of the present beneficient system of administration, and so on, and so on. All these old shibboleths are once more marshalled to the front and arranged before us in imposing and attractive phraseology to exhibit the complexities of the problem and provide the justification for making the first step as tentative and timid as possible and overloading the concessions that are made with an elaborate series of safeguards and checks, the only admirable thing about which is the ingenuity that has devised them and which would have been better employed in elaborating checks and safeguards on our bureaucratic rulers. For if these proposals are to be passed into law as they stand the latter will remain as much as ever, and perhaps more, our masters.

Hollow Plea of Unfitness.

What is the relevancy of the plea of unfitness? I will not trouble to examine the accuracy of the list of conditions which are said to make up the unfitness in the view of the authors of the report. But the bulk of all these conditions have not prevented other countries from achieving or receiving the gift of responsible government. (Hear, hear). Ignorance, want of education, cleavages of caste and religion and even race, unequal distribution of wealth, these and other detrimental things did not stand in the way of the British and the American peoples when they achieved responsible government, they did not stand in the way of Canada or South Africa when they received the free gift of responsible government from the Mother country. (Applause). I cannot in the time at my disposal enter more elaborately into these illuminating historical parallels. I would ask every one to read the able and convincing memorandum of the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya which contains the most effective exposure of the hollowness of this plea of unfitness I have ever read. Why is India alone to be judged by these standards? Let India-

be unfit, but let India, be ruled by Indians according to Indian ideals (Applause) and it is her right to claim it. She has the right like all other nations to find her way through the path of experience by mistakes if you will, and if, as Mr. Chamberlain told us only a few days ago, "progress in India must be through mistakes," for God's sake let Indians have the power to make the mistakes themselves (Loud cheers), for they are sick and tired of the mistakes of the bureaucracy and believe that they would thrive better on those of an indigenous character.

Drastic Alterations Necessary.

Ladies and gentlemen, I do not wish to use the language of exaggeration, but I have examined these proposals for Reforms over and over again, I have discussed them and I have studied with due attention the opinions that have been passed upon them by people of all shades of opinion, and I cannot find that they offer us any immediate and effective control over the administration, while they certainly do not promise us anything in the future but leave us at the mercy of the chances of a game of beggar-my-neighbour with the bureaucracy, in which the dice—if I may be allowed to mix my metaphors—are heavily loaded in favour of the latter. (Hear hear). And I have not been able to find that they satisfy anybody except in a small degree. Even the nine gentlemen who signed the manifesto known as the manifesto of the Bombay Moderates, are not completely satisfied with the scheme for the provinces, though they regard it as a substantial instalment, and they declare unequivocally that the scheme as regards the Government of India is "excessively cautious and unnecessarily illiberal" incompatible even, they say, with the terms of the announcement of August 20, to which they attach so much sanctity, and based on an unsound formula. (Hear, hear), Ladies and gentlemen, I agree with every word of that and I do not know that anything more condemnatory could be said (Hear, hear). Then I find that there is a considerable number of people, both in and outside the Congress, and even nominated members of the Council, who are in a state of nervous tension lest the scheme should be summarily rejected, who tell us we shall be lost if we do not accept it, display grave dissatisfaction when they come to analyse the details in regard to some of the most essential features. Well, we need not quarrel with them. There are many ways of receiving a stone instead of bread for which you ask. You may say: "I don't want your stone" or you may say: "I grate-

fully accept this stone you have given me, but may I respectfully point out that I asked for bread." And if by the latter process we get some bread to go on with, I would be the last to say that we should refuse to take the sustenance that it affords, even if it is only half-a-loaf. But if we are going to proceed on those lines, let us see that we get at least one half loaf. Now if these proposals gave us half-a-loaf, we might perhaps, accept it and begin to ask for more as soon as we had swallowed it. But the proposals as they stand, will have to be materially modified, and in fact, drastically altered and supplemented before they can be accepted even as half-a-loaf. (Hear, hear).

Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford as they frankly state in the Report, have felt themselves bound by the terms of the announcement of August 20th and they have drafted their proposals in accordance with the limitations thus imposed. They have been over-careful, perhaps—so careful to keep themselves within the four corners of the announcement as to occupy only a very small space in the room that it provides. We on our part must examine their proposals in the light of the principles laid down in the Congress League Scheme (Applause) and generally of the resolutions passed by the Congress in 1915, 1916 and 1917 and the modifications, alterations and supplementations that we propose must be drawn so as to bring the proposals, as far as they allow into conformity with those principles (Hear, hear). I may say here, perhaps, that I think we need not bother ourselves at present with any discussion on the basis of the terms "rejection" and "acceptance." It is clear that the question of rejection or acceptance has not yet arisen. We are not called upon to accept or reject anything. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have laid before us certain proposals and they have invited criticism and suggestions. To that invitation Mr. Montagu has within the last few days, added an emphatic assurance by way of corollary that the report is not to be regarded as "a finished document" to be translated "unaltered into an Act of Parliament." It is there to be criticised, to be sifted and to be tested. Well, let us criticise, let us sift and let us test. Having done that we shall wait and see how far our criticisms and our suggestions are acted upon in the draft of the Bill that is now being prepared. But I would urge Mr. Montagu in the meanwhile not to leave the drafting too much in the hands of Mr. Marris (Laughter) and not to continue

his insistance on our keeping within the four corners of the announcement of August 20, 1917, for there cannot be satisfaction of our demands unless there is to be some relaxation in that respect. Well, having offered our suggestions and criticisms, having put forward anew our demands on such basis as this report provides, we will wait for the Bill. When that is published in September next, when the final word of the Imperial Government is before us in that draft, then will come the time when we shall be called upon to say whether we reject or accept what is offered to us. (Hear, hear.) And that we shall be able to do, since the Bill cannot come before Parliament until next Spring, at the Delhi Congress next Christmas.

SOME FUNDAMENTAL DEFECTS.

In the meanwhile, as I have said, we must examine these proposals, which are unacceptable as they stand, in the light of the principle of the Congress-League resolutions and see what we can do to bring them into line with those principles. You will not ask me, ladies and gentlemen, to explain to you the details of the proposals for, I am sure you are by now well-versed in all their qualities and defects. I propose only as briefly as possible to see where they depart from or are in opposition to our demands. If we take just once again the main principles of the Congress-League Scheme as I have enumerated them above, they are briefly:

1. Popularly elected Legislative Councils on a broad fanchise, that is, an elective majority.

2. Control of the Executive by the Councils.

3. Power of the purse in the hands of the Councils with the reservations already stated and

4. *Provincial autonomy based on the above.*

In regard to the first, the Report proposes a substantial elected majority in the councils and proposes a direct and broad franchise. That is what we have asked for and fortunately it provides a basis on which we are able to deal, as a common ground, for discussion of the scheme. But when we come to the principles of control of the Executive and the power of the purse, the proposals concede neither the one nor the other in the Government of India and concede only a very modified control in the Provincial Governments. Indeed, in regard to the former

we are at an absolute deadlock, for while our fundamental proposition is that the popular representatives must be given an effective control over the Executive in all but matters of Imperial Defence and foreign relations. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford frankly begin with "the fundamental proposition that "the capacity of the Government of India to obtain its will in all essential matters must be unimpaired." and they go on to say "we seek deliberately, when the purpose justifies us, to depart from popular methods of legislation: and it is obvious that no device which conforms to those methods can possibly serve our purpose." These are very uncompromising declarations and we can only hope that the unanimous opposition, which has been expressed from every quarter, in this matter to this frank departure from the terms of the announcement of August 20th constituting a glaring rejection of the principle of self-determination at the outset will induce Mr. Montagu to recognise the imperative necessity of abandoning this position if the scheme for the Government of India is to command assent in any quarter. You are aware how it is proposed in the report to secure for the Governor-General in Council the drastic powers necessary to enable him to over-ride the popular will. A government bill amended by the assembly in opposition to the wishes of the Government will be re-amended in the Council of State in accordance with the Government views. If the popular assembly then refuses to accept it as amended by the Council of State it will go to a joint session of both the Houses, unless the Governor-General chooses to certify it as essential to the interests of peace, order or good government (including sound financial administration) in which case the assembly will not have the power to modify or reject the amendments. Similarly, if the Bill is refused or thrown out by the Assembly the Governor-General will certify it and send it to the Council of State for disposal finally and the Governor-General in Council is to have power, in addition, in case of emergency to pass a Bill through the Council of State and merely report it to the Assembly as having been passed. Again in case of a Private Bill, the Governor-General in Council may certify it as being prejudicial to good administration and send it to the Council of State to be passed into Law in the form there given to it. Thus the authors of the Report have devised an effective machinery to satisfy their aim that the will of the Government of India shall remain unimpaired. In any conflict of opinion the popular assembly will be wholly at the mercy of the Executive. That is a pro-

posal that must demand that, first, the Council of State, if there is going to be a Council of State shall be elected, so far as it is elective not from a fancy electorate that directly or indirectly represents the people, (Hear, hear) and second that all this machinery of the Governor-General's certificate shall be removed and the decision of the joint session of the two houses in case of dispute shall be final. The Governor-General and the Governor-General-in-Council will retain their powers of assent, reservation or disallowance, the Governor-General will retain his power of making regulations. Surely that should suffice to carry any Government in the world through all such crisis that may arise when emergency measures or powers are essentially called for. And unless this is done, we shall still be at the mercy of an Executive with powers for the permanent enactment of repressive measures like the Press Act and the Defence of India Act as well as powers to reject measures that are insisently demanded by the needs of the people. Then we must ask that at the least the powers of the Assembly in the Government of India to control or modify the budget shall be equal to those accorded to the Provincial Councils whatever it may be when the Scheme is modified. And we must hold to our demand that at least half the members of the Governor-General's Executive Council shall be members of and responsible to the Assembly in the same way as it has been proposed that the Ministers in the Provinces shall be responsible to the Councils. These are the main changes in the Scheme of the Government of India that, I suggest, are indeed absolutely essential if we are to have only the beginning of Responsible Government, which must be begun in the Provinces as well as in the central authority.

Farce of provincial autonomy.

I now turn to the proposals for the Provinces. Here again there is no concession of the Congress Demand. The Congress League Scheme has in fact, been wholly rejected. The joint scheme or Curtis Scheme as we call it, has also been elaborately rejected but not without having extracted from it its kernel in the shape of a divided executive with "reserved" and "transferred" subjects. Well, ladies and gentlemen, this principle of dualism in the Government appears to me to be thorouhgly unsound and without entering into details, it seems to me, that the elaborate paraphernalia of a divided executive, with executive members in charge of 'reserved' subjects, non-controllable by the Legislative

Council and Ministers in charge of "transferred, subjects controllable by the legislative councils, the Governor being at liberty to deliberate with his whole Government or part of it as he thinks fit, and empowered to call in additional official members to give further weight to the official side of the case: and on top of this all the paraphernalia of power to certify legislation as essential or undesirable, as the case may be, in the interests of peace, order or good government or sound financial administration and advisory committees and grand committees all this will lead to such a production of incessant deadlocks and constant thwarting of the popular will as will in all likelihood reduce the whole business of administration and legislation to a farce (Hear, hear). We know where the shoe pinches and we shall have Mr. Peace, Order or Good Government—Mr. Pogg, we might call him—walking in at every turn. And when he is not available, in will come Mr. Sound Financial Administration, or if it is a popular bill dealing with a transferred subject Mr. Reserved Subject will step in and say: You are poaching on my reserve! But even that does not exhaust the possibilities, for the authors of the report lay it down that the Governor should not accept without hesitation proposals which are the result of inexperience. Ladies and gentlemen, can we hope that with all these years of experience of our bureaucratic infallibles and Governors in official leading strings, that peace, order and good government, the charge of poaching on reserved subjects and inexperience will not be constantly on the tapis to save the inarticulate masses from the rash and oppressive measures of their life-long enemies, the educated classes or to secure for them the excellent measures proposed by their official friends and protectors! The Hon. Mr. Patel pointed out the other day that the non-official member is almost better off in some respects in regard to the passing of legislation under the present system than he could be if he is to be subjected to all these checks and safeguards involved in the Governor's certificate, his control of the so-called popular ministers and the making up of the grand committees which would have to be separately constituted for each bill in question. What is the necessity for all this elaborate machinery to provide checks on the consummation of the popular will? We see in it only the renewal of a lease of power to the bureaucratic administration and it is that we have set out to prevent if we can, in

order that the people may decide for themselves through their duly elected representatives, what they consider best for themselves. And at the end of five years let it be remembered, when the behaviour of the legislatures and the ministers comes to be reviewed, it is open to the Government to take away from a province some of its transferred subjects as well as to give it one or more of the "reserved" subjects.

DISTRUST OF THE PEOPLE.

Distrust, as it seems to me, is written over all these. And there must be some trust if any sort or any instalment of responsibility is to be successful. (Applause). And there must be a term set to the transitional period whatever it may be. I agree with the Hon. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya in his condemnation of the proposal for reserved and transferred subjects. Dualism in the government is, I think, unsound in theory and I do not believe it will work in practice. One could provide many examples of the deadlocks and difficulties likely to arise. But let us only take one or two. Suppose a minister in control of a transferred subject comes to a difference with the Government over the Budget or any other matter. Is he to give way or is he to resign? If it is a vital matter and if he is a man of self-respect he will resign. And suppose, as in all possibility will be the case, the Legislative Council supports him. What will the Government do? They will have to find a new minister who will agree with them, and who will be out of sympathy with the Legislative Council, which will oppose his measures, and what is then to happen! A deadlock that can only be solved by the ruthless use of the Governor's Certificate. (Hear, hear). Or take the case of a Bill introduced in the Legislative Council by a private member which contains for the purpose of making it effective a penal cause and how many Bills do not have to contain a penal clause? Up jumps an executive member of council and says: "Oh, you are proposing to punish people. This is entrenching on police, law and justice, which is a reserved subject:" another deadlock. There is hardly a branch of social legislation in fact, in which the possibility, even the probability, does not arise of a measure being objected to as trenching on a reserved subject. I am, for these reasons, entirely opposed to this principle of dualism. It seems to me it should be sufficient for all purposes of [illegible] if the popularly elected members of the Government were on the same status as the other members and the portfolios which the Government think it unsafe to trust to them ought to be safe in the hands of their

official colleagues. However the suggestion has been made, and widely supported, among others by Mrs. Besant, Mr. Tilak, Mr. Jinnah (cheers) that we should ask that only Law, Justice and Police should be automatically transferred at the end of five years to the ministers. I can do no more than commend this suggestion to your notice and approval.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have detained you long and I dare not presume further on your patience by entering in detail on other points. I can only enumerate as briefly as possible those on which I think we should state our position and our demands clearly and uncompromisingly. I have already dealt with the chief features of difficulty in the Scheme, as regards the Government of India and the question of the removal of the proposed unneceessary and oppressive checks and safeguards standing in the way of the due control of the Executive by the Legislative Councils in legislation and administration. There is still the question of the power of the purse. We must retierate our demand for full power in the Legislative Councils to control the whole budget without the limitations proposed in the Report (Hear, hear). That is to my mind, indispensable. The legislative councils themselves must be the bodies to decide such disputes as arise regarding whether a subject is to be treated as reserved or transferred in its character and the power of the Governor to stifle legislation as impinging on a reserved subject as it stands in the scheme must be removed. (Hear, hear). I do not propose to deal with the question of the relaxation of the control of the Secretary of State over the Government of India or that by the latter over the Provincial Governments, because whether that is to be regarded as a good or a bad thing depends wholly on the extent to which we are able to secure control of the executive by the popular assemblies. It is certain that if we lose the power without gaining the latter, we shall not be better but worse off. There are other minor details which I need not deal with here. But I would say in conclusion that it is essential that we continue to press two other matters of the first importance, first that it should be laid down in the statute that full responsible government be given at the end of a certain period I should say not more than 20 years and second, the seperation of the judiciary from all executive control.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is essential that we should strengthen the hands of the Congress in putting forward the united views of all of us in regard to the changes which we consider it essential should be made in the proposals before us. And all our efforts should be bent upon that.

If we stick to our principles we can afford to give way on matters of detail. But we must make it clear that our principles are unalterable and that if they are not confined to in the main by any scheme of reform, we cannot be satisfied. It is for the Government then to see whether they think it right or expedient to ignore our voice and to complete the draft of their Bill without incorporating in it the criticisms and suggestions which we put forward.

Appeal to "Moderates."

Continuing Mr. Horniman referred to a matter of importance and said that our so-called moderate friends had threatened to hold a separate conference. He deprecated the line which these few gentlemen intended to take to the great detriment of the country's interests. Proceeding he said: And in that respect I cannot but think that in spite of all the appearances of diversity of views which faces us at this critical juncture, that if we all settle down to meet one another in an amicable spirit of discussion, we may arrive at a reasonable basis of discussion. If we cannot do so let the majority prevail as it has always done in the Congress and must always do in any well organized and properly constituted representative body. I refer of course, now to the attitude of those of our so-called Moderate friends who threaten to hold aloof from the coming special session of the Congress. I would appeal to them, at least for the sake of trying to arrive at an agreement with them in the interests of the cause which is common to us all, not to take the suicidal course that has been threatened. Ladies and gentlemen, the people who stayed outside the Congress in 1908 were ignored. Those who stay out now are liable to be ignored, but if they are not ignored by the British Government and people, they will have struck a deadly blow at the unity of India. If they feel that they will not be able to come into line with the majority that should not be a reason for running away. Let them come into the Congress and fight their battle. They will receive a respectful hearing and if they cannot agree with us they will at least get a more effective hearing for their views than by holding a separate conference of their own.

THE POSITION OF INDIANS IN THE EMPIRE.

More than six months before the war broke out in Europe—in January, 1914—Mr. Horniman delivered a lecture before the Bombay Students' Brotherhood on the "Position of Indians in the Empire." It was a very enthusiastic audience of promising young men and old, which Mr. Horniman addressed on the occasion. We have reproduced here an abbreviation of the lecture, in order to show that long before the Home Rule League was started in this country, Mr. Horniman had held and freely expressed his views about the importance of India to England and the Empire and the justice of India's claims and rights. After rebutting the assumption—trotted out by English and colonial 'Imperialists'—that India is not in possession of the same claims and rights as the self-governing dominions he said, "one of my main objects to-day is to try and impress upon you all that one of your most important duties, as citizens of the British Empire, is to stand out for YOUR FULL CLAIM TO BE TREATED ON AN EQUALITY with the INHABITANTS OF EVERY OTHER PORTION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE." The lecture was also remarkable for Mr. Horniman's frank and impartial analysis of India's immense contribution to Britain's greatness as an Imperial power. "If India were taken away from the British Empire", he said, "the British Empire would receive such a staggering blow that it is doubtful whether it would ever recover from it, and the United Kingdom in its material welfare would receive such a blow that it would possibly.........have to take its place with small states like Holland and Belgium. If on the other hand, you took away any single one of the self-governing dominions of the British Empire,......I cannot see that the injury which the United Kingdom, and which the British Empire would suffer would be of such huge importance that the United Kingdom could not manage to recover from it after a short while".

LADIES and Gentlemen,—I have chosen this subject of "Indians in the Empire,"—or "India and Indians in the British Empire,"—because I think that it is, from the point of view of Indian and Imperial interests, the most pressing problem that exists at the present day; and I think it is going to become more and more pressing. And as I believe

those of my audience this evening mostly consist of men of the rising generation, who will have to deal with this problem in the future, I have chosen this subject in the hope that whatever I may be able to say may be of some use in guiding in any way, those who may hear this discussion this evening. I propose to deal with the problem from the point of view of Indian and Imperial interests, because there are only two points of view, which can possibly concern us in this country, of this great question. One is the Indian point of view and the other the Imperial point of view. Now I have had the pleasure, or the pain, of listening to more than one discussion on this subject within the last few months, and also of reading a good many articles in Anglo-Indian newspapers, and I have been always painfully impressed by the way in which an Indian audience, or the readers of an Anglo-Indian newspaper, are always asked to look at this question from the Colonial standpoint. Well, I am not going to say that it is not a good thing to look at things from other people's point of view, or to look at questions from your opponent's point of view, but I think that that request has been very largely overdone in this case. Our business in India is to look at this question from the Indian point of view, only qualified by the Imperial point of view. and that is the point of view that I am going to talk about this evening. I do not see why we should concern ourselves with the difficulties of the inhabitants of Australia and South Africa and Canada in dealing with an alien population, for the presence of which among themselves they are chiefly responsible. They have made the situation; it has not been made by India; and it lies upon them to deal with the situation in a manner which appreciates and fully appreciates the recognition which should be paid to India as a component part of the British Empire, and to the citizens of India as fully qualified citizens of the British Empire.

I am going to ask you first of all to look at the position which India occupies in the British Empire at the present day. Now we always find that when Colonial people discuss this question, and I am sorry to say, when a great many of my own countrymen discuss the question, they always start with the assumption that India is not in possession of the same claims and rights as themselves *i.e.*, of the self-governing dominions, and that in every treatment of the matter, she must receive a secondary consideration. Well, that is not a position which I am going to recognise at all, and it is not a position which I trust any inhabitant of this country

is going to recognise, and one of my main objects to-day is to try and impress upon you all that one of your most important duties, as citizens of the British Empire, is to stand out for your full claim to be treated on an equality with the inhabitants of every other portion of the British Empire, in whatever country you may be, either permanently or temporarily, dwelling. I say that as an English-born citizen myself, because I regard it as a solemn duty upon the people of my country to extend those full rights, which have been solemnly promised to the people of this country by our King-Emperors and the late Queen Empress over and over again.

Well now, let us look at what the position of India is in the British Empire and what is the position of the self-governing colonies. Looking at the question from the practical point of view, it is no use denying that the self-governing dominions occupy a far superior position, because being to a large extent people of the same blood and origin as the people of the mother-country, they were granted very early those free institutions which, however, it is considered a danger to confer upon the people of this country. But looking at it also in another way, from the material and moral point of view—and this is a point which every patriotic Indian ought to instil into his mind and should never forget—the Indian Empire is—I say it as an Englishman and I am prepared to justify it in every possible way—of far greater importance to the British Empire than any of the self-governing dominions. In the first place, India was a valued possession of the British Empire, a valued part of the British Empire long before any of these self-governing dominions began to be of any importance at all, and for the last 150 years India has been contributing to the wealth of the British Empire, and mainly to the wealth of the United Kingdom in a way that leaves these striplings of self-governing dominions far behind. They have, as a matter of fact, only within very recent times became factors of importance from that point of view at all. Whereas India has for all these years been contributing to the wealth of the British Empire, and has in that way been one of its most solid pillars of support, under which, the self-governing dominions have been able to flourish and grow up, and earn their claim to the free institutions which they now possess.

I just want to give you in that connection a few figures to show how monstrous is the attitude which is taken up by people like the Premier of the Union of South Africa—by General Botha and others when they talk about India. Because you will remember that in the course of the recent controversy—a controversy which has not yet closed—in regard to the position of Indians in South Africa, the matter was always treated by General Botha and his Ministers as though India had no claim to lay down for herself—as I think that you ought to be allowed to lay down,—the lines on which her own subjects shall be treated in a great self-governing dominion,—and they always speak from that particular point of view; as though a self-governing dominion were of the first importance to the Empire and as though India were merely a secondary consideration that could easily be put on one side and dealt with in any way they pleased.

Well, the British Empire exists, as we all know, not by the power of the United Kingdom to exercise control over every part of it, but by the consent of those countries which are its component parts. The existence of India as part of the British Empire depends as much upon the consent of the people of India as the existence of South Africa or Australia depends upon the consent of the people of Australia and South Africa.

Let us just look at the facts and figures, and examine for a moment the position which India occupies as the strongest pillar of support of the British Empire. If you will look at the figures of the trade of the United Kingdom with other parts of the British Empire, you will find that the total amount of trade of the United Kingdom with the other portions of the British Empire amounts nearly on an average to about £375,659,000, of which India contributes no less than £111,885,000. The share of the Union of South Africa, in this volume of trade is, £11,151,000, *i. e.*, one-tenth of the total value of the trade of India with the United Kingdom; Australia's is £36,120,000, *i. e.*, about one-third of the trade of India with the United Kingdom; the North American Colonies, not only of Canada but also other Colonies in North America, have a total of £28,000,000, less than a third of the volume of India's trade with the United Kingdom; New Zealand £20,000,000, less than one-fifth of India's trade. And if we go in detail into those figures, exports and imports, which we have no time to do this evening, we find how in every respect India holds a leading place, not only in

I have to make up my mind in regard to any question affecting the welfare of India or the rights of the Indian citizens as against the claims of the self-governing dominions, I am quite unable to see—India being as much a part of the British Empire as any other country, and the citizens of India being as much British citizens as I or any other Englishman—I am quite unable to see why I should not in every way give the *fullest* justice and consideration, to everything that the Empire and the United Kingdom in particular owes to India for being what it is. And therefore, when I am told—as we have been told recently not only by the self-governing colonies but unfortunately by a very large number of Englishmen in this country—when we are told that every country must have the right to say, who or who shall not come into its territories and reside there, then I say that if that is a right which belongs to the self-governing colonies, it is a right which ought to belong to India. And it seems to me essential that we should make up our minds at once to accord to this country and to the citizens of this country every justice in that respect, for the time will come when this country will be in the same position as the self-governing dominions are at the present day, and be able to say who or who shall not enter its territories, and if that day comes before justice has been meted out to India in that respect, it will be one of the most disastrous days that ever fell upon the United Kingdom and the British Empire. I say that because I do not think that there are many people in my experience, I find that there are not many Indians even, who appreciate the full extent to which English society and English institutions and everything in England benefits by the connection with India.

I have so far enlarged somewhat on this question of the material importance of this country in the British Empire, and I hope that you have gathered that I wanted particularly to bring out the extent to which the self-governing dominions—the whole of the Colonies of the British Empire—have benefited by the association of India with the Empire, and that it has only been by the Imperial wealth to which India has so largely contributed that they have been able to grow up and flourish, as they have done, and that the mother-country has been able to put them in the position that they are now. So, these self-governing dominions in an indirect way, and almost in a direct wey, very largely owe the position that they occupy, not only to their own enterprise and energy for which

they deserve every credit, but also to the Imperial protection which British dominion over India has principally enabled Britain to give them.

Then again I want to point out what a very great and important part in every other way India has played in the making of the British Empire. It is the general assumption of the Imperialists in England that when they talk of the British Empire they mean the mother-country and the self-governing dominions, and everything else is left out as though it were of no importance at all. Whereas, as a matter of fact, the fact—which I presume is well known to everybody in this hall—is that India has played a very much larger part than any other British possession in building up the British Empire, in assisting the mother-country to build it both from the military as well as from the trade and commercial point of view. When we are asked to give such a preponderating consideration as Imperialists do, to the self-governing Colonies in relation to their attitude towards India, the reflection comes upon me, and I do not know why it should not come upon anybody else—that we owe so much to India in this respect, and the self-governing dominions have done so little for the Empire at large, as apart from their individual interests, that it is presumptuous to treat India as if she were not on an equality with these self-governing Dominions. They have enjoyed the military protection of the mother-country for all these years without paying a pice for it. India, on the other hand, has paid through the nose for every penny that has been spent upon the internal defence of this country; in the maintenance of the army in this country, an army which is of great value not only for the purposes of the protection of India itself, but as a factor in the whole outlook of Imperial defence. India has to spend a sum of more than twenty millions annually on the maintenance of her military forces—a sum larger than the whole of her land revenue—and she pays every pice for the support of the British Contingent in that army. In addition to all this, she pays a tribute of a hundred thousand pounds annually to the Navy. South Africa has now begun to make a contribution of eighty thousand pounds a year towards the Navy, and the others have only just begun to take a share in their own defence. There is not one of them that would have been able to exist up to this time without the protection of the Imperial forces: there is not one of them that could exist for a week at the present day without that protection. But India is the only part of the British